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Device to Root Out Place: An Ethnography of Public Art in East Calgary

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Device to Root Out Place:

An Ethnography of Public Art in East Calgary

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

In 2008, a large scale outdoor sculpture created by world renowned artist, Dennis Oppenheim, was installed on a proposed site for a billion dollar mixed real estate redevelopment project in Calgary's historic Ramsay neighbourhood. Oppenheim's sculpture Device to Root out Evil is one of many public artworks recently installed in East Calgary and serves as a prime example of how public art is being integrated into urban development and private real estate projects. This research project explores how cultural artifacts, such as public art, are being used as placemaking tools. This localized case study connects artistic practice to economic emplacement and displacement, cultural consumption and production, and urban change. It is a mixed-methods ethnography that moves beyond visual analysis of public art to incorporate sensory experiences of being in a place, thereby revealing how attending to the senses can contribute to the placemaking process.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Our First Encounter

I had been living in Calgary for just over a year by the time that I heard there was an upside down church in the city. A friend mentioned the sculpture in passing during a conversation about my imminent move to Ramsay, a historic neighbourhood on the eastern edge of downtown. No, it couldn't possibly be the same one, I wondered, or could it? Having just relocated from Vancouver, the controversy surrounding the infamous upside down church was still very fresh in my mind. The sculpture had provoked quite a bit of debate during the two and a half years that it had been publicly installed in Coal Harbour, a posh redeveloped area in Vancouver's core. An online search confirmed my hunch; it was, in fact, the very same public artwork, *Device to Root Out Evil*, by world-renowned artist Dennis Oppenheim. How odd, I thought, that both the sculpture and I would serendipitously both end up in the same Calgary neighbourhood.

I first saw the sculpture in its Ramsay location on an exploratory walk just a few weeks before I moved into the neighbourhood. It was a crisp winter afternoon and I had decided to set out on foot to explore the area that I would soon call home. The snow had melted, but the ground was still frozen and I could hear the crunch of the grass under my boots as I approached the sculpture. I remember thinking how different the piece looked in its new setting compared to the expansive backdrop it had in Vancouver. It was tucked in between a few nondescript industrial buildings and what looked like a storage lot packed full of Stampede supplies. As I walked around the sculpture to get a different perspective, I noticed a row of townhouses across

the street that seemed out of place. They were obviously of recent construction and their façade didn't match the patina and character of the neighbourhood. It was as if a strong wind had swept up both the townhouses and the church from another locale and randomly dropped them in Ramsay, the church left balancing precariously on its steeple. I snapped a quick photo to commemorate my first encounter with the piece in its new landscape. As I continued my circumambulation of the sculpture, I noticed a brightly lit sign for a coffee shop out of the corner of my eye. My fingers frozen from grasping my cane, I retreated to the warmth and bustle of the shop around the corner and ordered a latte.

Figure 1: First Calgary Encounter with Device to Root Out Ev
Photo courtesy the author, 2013.

Research Objectives

Device to Root out Evil is just one of many artworks recently installed in East Calgary and serves as a prime example of how public art is being incorporated into urban development and infrastructure projects in this part of the city. Just down the block from Ramsay, the Calgary Municipal Land Corporation (CMLC), the entity designated to manage the renewal and redevelopment of the derelict east end of downtown, now referred to as the East Village, is also actively integrating public art into its redevelopment plans. The CMLC's mission is clear; they believe that placemaking through public art *f*, brings new energy to old neighbourhoods, creates credibility and confidence, and inspires communities to build, grow, and believe,, and, as such they are devoted to *making f*, a tangible difference in the way a rich and growing city looks, feels and thinks about itself...., (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014)

In recent years, public art has played an increasingly important role in the social and economic transformation of urban spaces. Smith (1996) and Miles (1997) suggest that it is critical for researchers to continue to look at urban change by exploring the links between gentrification and art. This project explores how public art is being used by private corporations as a communication tool with the intention to brand and market urban spaces and frame public perceptions of a place. The following Case Study includes an examination of public artworks recently installed in two new private development projects in East Calgary. Investigating a selection of public artworks within a specific geographical region provides the opportunity to explore a localized case study while reflecting upon broader based issues that connect public art to economic emplacement and displacement, cultural consumption and production, and the social

transformation that occurs within city spaces as a result of urban development and regeneration projects

It is estimated that over 81 percent of Canada's population currently reside in urban centres (Government of Canada, 2014) and the mounting pressure of inner city densification and urban transformation are creating new types of social, economic and cultural challenges for Canadian communities. Calgary is growing faster than any other Canadian city with a population increase of approximately 27 percent each year and migration forecasted to continue to intensify through to 2021 (Calgary Economic Development, 2014). Contributing to the burgeoning fields of public art and gentrification research, this study aims to engage in a discussion about the impacts that rapid urban renewal and densification have on communities and look at how the arts are being used to try to mitigate some of those impacts.

While most of the public artworks being installed in our cities are widely celebrated, much of the literature on public art neglects to connect the social, cultural and economic changes and the spatial politics that emerge within the areas in which specific works of public art are installed (Kwon, 2002). Mathews (2010) suggests that the role of public art research is to place pressure on ensuring that the incorporation of art in the urban provides an opportunity for local (and contested) meaning production and expression.... (p.673). The desired outcome of this research project is to critically explore how places are both physically and socially constructed through the introduction of public art and to investigate how private corporations are using these cultural placemaking artifacts as communication tools to attempt to establish a sense of place and brand urban spaces.

Research Design

What began as a hunch and brief encounter behind an industrial complex in Ramsay, led to a yearlong ethnographic investigation into public art and placemaking. It led to hours spent walking through the streets of East Calgary exploring the compositional make-up of the neighbourhoods and surveying the sensory landscape of the area in an attempt to piece together the various narratives and politics that inform those urban spaces. I conducted interviews with stakeholders, took countless photographs and scoured museum and municipal archives. I also engaged in casual conversations about public art when I met people on the street and at community meetings and informational sessions. I buried myself under mountains of literature, but a majority of my research was conducted in situ. As a new resident living in the long established Ramsay community, I was afforded a unique anthropological perspective that enabled me to conduct ethnographic research which explores multiple ways of knowing and engage in multisensory experiences that are intrinsically tied to both the phenomenology of place and the politics of space,, (Pink, 2009, p.23). This ongoing presence in the field provided me with the opportunity to gain a unique sense of the place while integrating my research into my everyday life.

As my research into gentrification progressed, I became acutely aware of my role as an agent of gentrification. As a cultural worker and student renting a converted Victorian house in an area going through a period of revitalization, I saw my reflection in every gentrification study that I read. This realization undoubtedly shaped my understanding of the topic and made it imperative for me to incorporate reflexivity and personal narrative into my interpretation of the subject areas and issues. Adhering to a postmodernist epistemological perspective, I used

multiple methods to conduct my research that embraces the notion that there are multiple standards for understanding the world, and therefore diversity and contradictions should be incorporated within research accounts, (Spicer, 2012, p.485). The following study does not presume to be a pursuit of a singular objective reality or quantifiable truth; rather I have framed my inquiry as an interpretive investigation that is both reflexive and open in its approach to understanding the role that public art plays in the construction of social and cultural community identity and the current situation within East Calgary.

This research paper is divided into five chapters. Chapter Two, considers the key literature associated with public art, creative city discourse and gentrification. While the theoretical ideas and literature reviewed are very much rooted in communication and cultural studies, my research path also intersected with other disciplines, including cultural geography, visual arts history and urban studies. I have included a discussion around the public and private commissioning of public art and how the arts are being used as a strategy to market and brand places. I explore some of the arguments associated with the creative discourse, which suggests that art, commerce and innovation lead to economic development and financial success. I also look at issues around site specificity and some of the concerns that arise when art is installed in public space. To this end, I review some of the writings associated with gentrification theory and the role that artists play in the gentrification process and explore how these processes are playing out in contemporary Calgary.

Chapter Three details my methodological approach and data collection process. To create my mixed methods ethnography, I conducted semi-structured interviews and referenced communication and marketing materials, city plans, archival and policy documents and news

accounts. The third chapter reveals how I endeavoured to incorporate the visual, sensory and material experiences that I encountered while moving in, around and through the terrain of my study. The media accounts, communication materials and policy documents inform my expeditions on foot, structure my interview questions and frame my interpretation of how public art in East Calgary is connected to the complex and chaotic urban gentrification process woven in the theoretical underpinnings that are the foundation of my methodological process. I string together literature associated with the spatial turn and ethnography to explore some of the ways that our relationship to space and place shape our social interactions and produce cultural meanings. I conclude the chapter with a description of some of the opportunities and challenges faced taking this kind of ethnographic approach and introduce the approach that I took in the Case Study.

Chapter Four the Case Study is divided into three sections that reveal the story of my experiences in East Calgary. In the first section, *Sensing the Landscape*, I introduce the sensory landscapes of East Calgary and investigate how these landscapes continue to be shaped by historical, social, physical and economic pressures. The following two sections, *A Walk Around Device to Root Out Evil* and *A Walk Through East Village*, are structured as walks around public artworks situated in two East Calgary neighbourhoods, Ramsay and East Village. On both walks, I take the reader through a series of experiences and investigate a selection of privately commissioned public artworks recently sited in these communities. I explore some of the factors that contributed to the commissioning and installation of these works and show how I connect these artworks to the current social and economic climate of these two inner city neighbourhoods.

In Chapter Five, I offer up my conclusions and reveal how this study explores how these public artworks function as communication tools that serve private interests. I review how trends in gentrification, real estate development and the creative city discourse are impacting public art as a discipline, and how these trends are reflected in East Calgary. I also suggest further research that could be conducted on this subject

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Public art is a relatively new field of study that emerged out of site-specific land and environmental art practices of the 1960s (Decker, 2011). Today, public art has become ubiquitous in the contemporary urban landscape and its many manifestations can be found in countless plazas and streets in city centres around the world. Over the years, public policies and funding infrastructure have developed around public art practices to support the creation, management and procurement of art in public space. At the same time, corporations are recognizing the impacts that the integration of public art has on their capital projects and, as such, are actively commissioning private works of art outside of the public funding model. This practice is increasingly prevalent with real estate and land developers, who are using public art as a marketing and business strategy to attract visitors, brand spaces and produce new meanings for their projects in the community.

This chapter reviews some of the literature associated with public art practices and reveals some of the current trends that are emerging with funding structures, commissioning practices and public policy. I investigate the reasons behind the push for and criticisms of the creative city discourse, which advocates that the unified development of art, commerce and innovation aid in the revitalization and renewal of urban regions that strengthen economic development. In this chapter, I also introduce the notion of the public art and reveal some of the emerging international and local trends in public art commissioning practices. I explore some of the complexities around the gentrification process and trace the history of gentrification research

and identify some of the key debates and paradigm shifts that have occurred in this area of study. I look at how the arts are implicated in the gentrification process and explore how public art is being integrated into real estate development and urban regeneration projects. I also consider the role that artists and the culture industry play in advancing the gentrification processes and how public art helps to construct the contemporary urban landscape. Finally, I introduce the local economic and social climate in contemporary Calgary and review current trends in public art policy and funding structures, which inform the foundation of this case study of public art in East Calgary.

Public Art and the Creative City

From cave paintings to the commemorative monuments of antiquity, the presence of public art has always been part of the cultural landscape, yet it has only recently materialized as a formal academic discipline (Decker, 2011). Public art is increasingly being used as a strategy by developers and governments to build brand identity and publicly declare a city's values and priorities. The popularity of the integration of public art into urban renewal projects and the proliferation of flagship architecturally designed museums, galleries and concert halls reveal the explicit connections that the arts have with publicity, economic development and commercial enterprise.

While erecting public monuments and sculptures has been a practice for centuries, the term public art originated in the United States in 1967 when the National Endowment for the Arts established a fund specific to the commissioning of art in public places (Miles, 2008).

Considering that public art is a moderately new discipline, its definition is still very much fluid and evolving. Public art's hazy historical precedence and lack of formalized definition is one of the largest obstacles facing the practice, which is part of the reason that the discipline has been struggling for critical recognition within the artistic establishment (Cartiere, 2008). Today, there are only a few educational institutions that teach public art practices, and the subject is often relegated to the margins of fine art practices, lost somewhere in between public institutions and the commercial art market (Cartiere & Willis, 2008).

In the broadest sense, public art can be defined as art that is situated outside of the gallery walls in public space. It has many subcategories and is often called many things, such as urban interventions, site-specific works, spatial practice, installation, land art, monuments, outdoor sculpture, earthworks, pop art, and socially-engaged art practice. Public art may take many forms, but is most commonly identified as the ubiquitous monuments and massive sculptural forms that dot city sidewalks and downtown courtyards. Cartiere (2008) suggests that in order for an artwork to be defined as public art, it should fall under at least one of the following four categories:

1. Situated in publicly accessible or visible place;
2. Made in the interest of the public or impact the community or individuals;
3. Used by or maintained by the public; and/or
4. Funded by the public.

Public art advocates suggest that the integration of art into the built environment humanizes the city by infusing meaning into the urban landscape, thereby turning "spaces" into "places" (Hubbard et al, 2003). However, Cartiere & Willis (2008) point out that very little

research has been conducted about how public art actually accomplishes this. Public art can often be a catalyst for immense deliberation or controversy, especially when it is publicly funded. Its presence in the urban landscape helps to reveal power differences within a space and time in history. Whether public art is unifying or divisive, it ultimately extends the experience of art into everyday life.

Emerging out of land and environmental art movements, trends in public art practices have shifted significantly over the past forty years. In her seminal book *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*, Kwon (2002a) suggests that the practice has undergone three distinct paradigm shifts. She identifies the first shift as *art-in-public places*, which reflected the large-scale modernist sculptures that gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s. Also referred to as *placé or plunké art*, these works often do not have a direct relationship to the location in which they are installed nor do they have any distinguishing public qualities, other than their size and situation outdoors. While *art-in-public places* are widely celebrated, they are also regularly criticized for being purely decorative. This genre of public art is still widely practiced and new works that fall under this category continue to be commissioned and installed in urban spaces around the world. The following Case Study includes an investigation of Dennis Oppenheim's sculpture *Device to Root out Evil*, which I argue would fall under this particular category of public art.

Kwon (2002a) suggests that there was a distinct shift in the 1980s towards a different kind of public art practice that she refers to as *art-as-public place*. „These works represent a deliberate attempt to position art as the defining focal point of public places by integrating into the functional design of architectural structures, landscaping features and infrastructure

projects. This practice continues to be quite popular and can be found everywhere from the ornamentation of street furniture, such as park benches, lighting schemes and manhole covers, to the integration of visual elements into bus shelters, highway overpasses and utility boxes. Works that fall under this category are often designed in tandem with developers, landscape designers and architects and sometimes do not even include professional artists in their creation. This study investigates a permanent mosaic mural installed on a retaining barrier wall in East Village entitled *THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER*, created by Ron Moppet, which I argue could be categorized under the banner of *art as public place*,

Kwon (2002a) identifies a third shift in public art that she refers to as *art-in-the-public interest*, which are temporary artworks that strive to address social concerns and political issues. Otherwise known as new genre public art (Lacy, 1994), this type of public art may take the form of community-based projects, temporary installations and urban interventions. They can involve actions created in collaboration with marginalized social groups and seek public involvement in the thematic and content development of the work. Another artwork that this Case Study focuses on is a series of mixed-media works, situated in East Village, created by a collective of emerging artists. This temporary piece, entitled *Field Manual: A compendium of local influences*, was greatly informed through consultation and research with the local community, therefore I argue that this piece can be deemed as an example of *art-in-the-public interest*,

As cities have become ever more equivalent and urbanities increasingly *thin*, it has become necessary to employ advertising and marketing agencies to manufacture such distinctions,, (Kevin Robins as cited in Kwon 2002b). Competition between cities for international attention and economic investment has resulted in an increased need to market the

image of a place (Kearns & Philo, 1993). Contemporary developers, private investors, property developers and governments understand that the aestheticization of space can spur investment, raise property values and promote urban regeneration projects to the global marketplace (Mathews, 2010). As such, policy makers, governmental bodies and urban planners are paying increased attention on how to address the predicament of trying to create and sustain a sense of place (Fleming, 2007). Art has become a key component of placemaking which calls for creative rethinking of our connection to a place and aims to produce conditions in which art and culture are fused. This idea is often premised on the frontier myth that views the artist as a solitary voice of originality and that physical spaces are empty reservoirs waiting to be filled with meaning (Mathews, 2010).

Cameron and Coaffee (2005) suggest that the flow of capital investment from gentrification results in the introduction of public policies that promote the consumption of art. Cities across North America have established programs to provide sustainable funding strategies for public art, such as the popular Percent for Public Art funding model, which mandates that one percent of all new capital projects and building construction budgets go towards the commissioning, creation and installation of new works of public art (Decker, 2011). The Percent for Public Art model reflects the notion that arts are directly connected to urban revitalization and that cultural development can be both economically and socially beneficial (Creative City Network of Canada, 2005). Canadian cities are developing public art policies that outline the city's plan to effectively develop, commission and manage public art processes. While cities are leading the charge in public art, all levels of government are getting involved in finding new ways to support the integration of arts into everyday life. Madden (2010) suggests that as the

capital power in urban economies become force in global networks, they often adopt policies that highlight public spaces in order to symbolize the pacified city's receptiveness to local and global capital; to capitalize on various sectors of the creative industry; to contain or displace political conflicts stemming from revanchist policies themselves (p.190).

Governments understand that the culture industry impacts economic growth and acts as a catalyst for turning an ordinary city into a vibrant creative city. As such, cities are rebranding themselves through economic development and urban renewal projects that celebrate the arts. Many municipal governments, policy makers, arts organizations, business improvement associations and economic development entities are working alongside developers and urban planners to help raise the profile of the arts, knowing that arts can serve as an economic driver that promotes investment, attracts tourism dollars, creates jobs and draws attention to urban renewal projects. Fashionable in planning and development circles, Landry's (2008) notion of the creative city aims to promote the integration of creative thinking practices to address social issues. It promotes urban planning practices that strive to facilitate and support creativity by making investments in both soft and hard cultural infrastructure.

Landry (2008) suggests that creativity can be understood as applied imagination, and is now a vital form of currency in the contemporary urban landscape. According to the creative city script, it is not necessarily artists who are the sole source of creativity; rather creativity stems from anyone who addresses issues of concern in an inventive and innovative way. He does, however, note that creativity is legitimized by arts, and artistic creativity has special qualities that chime well with the needs of the idealized knowledge economy, (Landry, 2008, p. xxi). The rise in popularity of public art and trends in public art policy and practice are impacted by the

creative city discourse. As cities compete to promote their tangible and intangible assets in the global marketplace, cities need to create icons that demonstrate their creativity. By drawing attention to the city iconically, they create rich symbolic associations that represent their brand that will generate social, economic and financial impacts over time (Landry, 2008).

Like Landry, Florida (2012) also makes the claim that creativity is a key factor in building a city's economic success. In his bestselling book, *Rise of the Creative Class*, Florida argues that well defined interconnections between arts, commerce and innovation can aid in the revitalization and renewal of urban regions that attract skilled workers and strengthen economic development. His idea of the creative class is not limited to artists and includes those in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment whose function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content (2012, p. 8). According to Florida, members of this new class operate much like the bohemians and scientists of the past, moving from city to city in search of communities that nurture their creativity, support their intellectual freedom and foster their unique interests. In return, the rise in human capital that is created by high densities of skilled workers can improve productivity levels, create opportunities for entrepreneurial ventures, increase efficiencies and draw venture capital investment (Creative City Network of Canada, 2005).

Florida (2012) pays homage to the work of journalist and activist, Jane Jacobs who argues against the top-down modernist approach to city planning like those touted by Le Corbusier and Robert Moses. Jacobs' influential book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) puts forward numerous suggestions on how to create well-functioning urban communities that celebrate and welcome social, cultural and economic diversity. She suggests that cities are

structures that are comprised of webs of organized complexity, therefore cities must adopt a holistic approach to urban planning that embraces a diversity of problems rather than seeking to eliminate them. Unlike gentrification researchers and social advocates who highlight the effects of displacement as a result of gentrification, proponents of the creative city discourse, like Florida (2012), do not directly address issues of displacement. Within the creative city discourse, the creative class primarily references moderate to high income earners who may leverage creative practices in their work, but may not necessarily identify themselves as artists. Liss (1997) is critical of how public art is integrated into development projects in order to attempt to alleviate some of the social divisiveness that may arise as the result of gentrification process. He joins Zukin (1995) and Deutsche (1997) in launching an attack against the use of art for development purposes. Similarly, Mathews (2010) is also cautious of art being used to further real estate development, arguing that if the arts are to remain a part of the urban fabric, it is necessary to value their role beyond economic fodder,, (p.672)

The Question of the Public in Public Art

Art inevitably introduces a myriad of political and social complexities when it is moved from the specialized realm of private galleries and cultural institutions and into the public sphere. Considering that public art functions in public space, a variety of social and political issues must be taken into account and addressed in order for a work of art to be accepted and utilized by the public. Much of the discussion of the notion of public space in relation to art is rooted in Habermas's notion of the public sphere (Decker, 2011). Habermas (1974 [1964]) acknowledges

the notion that there are multiple publics who all enact different experiences and social practices. However, Habermas's definition of the public sphere is somewhat limited in that it presupposes that everyone has the same opportunities to freely participate in decision-making process and open debate, which is not always the case.

Hein (1996) proposes that public art is not only public by linguistic courtesy. Issues often arise because the general public is excluded from decisions around the siting of works of public art and the majority of urban spaces that display public art are, in fact, highly controlled privately-owned spaces. Yet, the problematization of the notion of the "public" in public art extends beyond private commissions and into the civic sphere. Often decisions around publicly funded civic art projects are made without any community engagement or participation from the community beyond a board or jury of citizens who are selected by city officials to select the work. So, if it is not the space or the processes behind a work of art that makes it public, what does? Lippard (1997) suggests that public spaces are made public by the people who actively use a space and how it is utilized. It has also been argued that public art, especially works that evoke controversy and debate, enliven the public by spurring civic debate (Hubbard et al, 2003) and that it is the public debate that becomes the work of art rather than the public experience of a space (Michael Nohr, as cited in Hein, 1996).

Smith (2002) suggests that gentrification has now morphed to become an international strategy that is used by economic development agencies and governments competing for skilled workers. Cities are competing for talent and attention and, as such are making substantial investments in building flagship cultural centres and museums by internationally renowned architects and integrating public art and cultural amenities into the urban landscape and

Solga (2009) question the politics underlying the creative city discourse, suggesting that it f, embraces diversity only to obscure the inequalities, ambivalences, and outright hostilities true difference brings,, (p.42) They suggest that the creative city discourse disregards the people can never occupy public spaces in neutral ways. Their case study of urban regeneration looks critically at how developed driven projects often co-opt the experiences of marginalized groups in order to produce a city based on Florida's 2000 vision of a trendy, hip and creative city. Highly critical of Florida's position, Levin and Solga suggest that the creative city script marginalizes the public that they aim to f celebrate., Alameham (2005) suggests that urban planning within the creative city script operates like a choreographed spectacle that horses an unrealistic façade, rather than reality

Gentrification and the Arts

The definition of •gentrification• has been evolving since the term was first coined by sociologist, Ruth Glass, who wrote about the social and economic shifts taking place in London's working-class neighbourhoods during the 1960s. In London Changes, Glass (1964) warns about the impacts of the gentry's investment into lower income districts, suggesting that the investment into residential property inevitably results in shifts in the demographics that leads to the eventual displacement of lower income residents. Early definitions of gentrification were primarily focused on inner city residential rehabilitation, but today, definitions of the term continue to widen to include a multitude of processes and various kinds of urban renewal and townfield development projects

Setting out to define gentrification becomes a complex task, as the term is often a politic and ideologically charged depending on its origin (Lees et al 2010). Those who have a vested capital interest in the increased economic activity that arises from gentrification will undoubtedly have a different comprehension of the process than those who are displaced as a result of the process. The field of gentrification research has been the site for theoretical and ideological debate for years and the term gentrification has become a contested and dirty word, in some circles (Smith, 1996). As such, we are currently witnessing a growing trend to replace the term with less controversial descriptors such as renewal, revitalization, regeneration and renaissance. The replacement of this term aims to redirect attention away from issues of class relations and displacement which have become synonymous with gentrification (Matthews, 2010).

Beauregard (2010 [1986]) calls for a wider and more encompassing definition of gentrification, warning that we must try to avoid a simplification of a complex and chaotic phenomenon. He argues that there can be no single definition or theory of gentrification, only theoretical interpretations that exist as part of the overall social formation. Smith and Williams (2010 [1986]) suggest that the visible reshaping of the urban landscape that takes place through gentrification are the result of political and social forces present in late capitalist societies which are often hidden out of sight and propose that, rather than risk constraining or understanding of this developing process by imposing definitional order, we should strive to consider the broad range of processes that contribute to this restructuring, and to understand the links between seemingly separate processes. (p. 110) In order to reveal the hidden forces at play, the definition of gentrification should extend beyond discussions of real estate to encompass a host of

economic and physical changes, as well as the social and cultural processes taking place within a specific locale.

Until the 1980s, gentrification research in North America was predominantly concerned with the transformation of existing residential neighbourhoods. But as developers began to understand that profit could be made by selling products based on place, the gentrification process began to open up to include other types of buildings and built forms, such as post industrial warehouse conversions and the reclamation of brownfield development (Zukin, 1982). Prior to World War II in North America, major industry and manufacturing sectors were located within urban centres and homes were built nearby to house skilled workers and labourers. Now that manufacturing has all but disappeared from industrial city centres and the blue collar labour market has been replaced by white collar workers, there has been a marked shift away from the sphere of production to a concentration on consumption activities. Ley (1978) suggests that today, *f*, the values of consumption rather than production guide central city land use decisions,, (p.11) and the movement of wealthy urbanites into new neighbourhoods results in an increased demand for restaurants, entertainment venues and luxury stores, which thereby change the social and economic fabric of a neighbourhood.

Smith (1979) regards gentrification as *f* a back to the city movement, referring to the movement not only of people but of capital and economic investment in the built environment. The flow of capital generally results in shifts in the demographic make up of a neighbourhood the direct or indirect displacement of the poorer and gentrified residents who can no longer afford increased rents or the raised property taxes. Often industrial buildings are transformed into living spaces and shops that cater to a more affluent consumer base, thereby further decreasing

accessibility to the poor and gentrified population. Gentrification generally results in a rise in property values, increased rents and higher tax yields, making it difficult for low earners to continue to afford to live in the area. Evans (2003) suggests that a location alone does not have the ability to attract interest and as such cities must generate new symbolic associations and construct their brands for international appeal. In today's global economy, cities are actively competing for economic and social influence on the international market and they, therefore, have a vested interest in managing their image to attract tourists, new residents and industry.

Urban areas that have a high density of artists provide vital networks for experimentation and creative social interaction and their presence in a neighbourhood is often seen as a vital component in urban revitalization and regeneration initiatives (Ley, 1996; Mathews, 2010; Miles, 1997; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1982). The reasons that artists tend to settle in inner-city neighbourhoods are varied; they could be attracted to the social diversity of working class communities or the proximity to galleries and a customer base. Artists are also drawn to the availability of affordable rental properties and the allure of older buildings and industrial spaces in historic areas of the city. Artists are often considered to be first stage gentrifiers, establishing a presence in inner-city working class neighbourhoods and post-industrial areas long before it becomes desirable to investors and middle class residents (Ley, 1996). Ley (2003) positions the roles of artists as agents, and aestheticisation as a process (p.2527) in gentrification and argues that the relationship between artists and gentrification, while not necessarily inevitable, is common. Middle class, learning professionals may share the artists' propensity for authentic city spaces and opt for the consumption-oriented lifestyle offered in pre-gentrified areas of the city (Zukin, 1982). Ley (2003) suggests that many professional urbanites

similar to artists, *f*, are indifferent to the charms of suburban life and have stretched an alternate topography of meaning across the space of the metro (p.2540).

Zukin & Braslow (2011) suggest the anticipated consequences of unplanned or naturally occurring areas where artists ~~work and~~ live are higher housing prices, more intensive capital investment, and eventual displacement and gentrification (p.131). The flow of capital often follows artists, eventually displacing both the artists and the original residents of a neighbourhood. Both Zukin (1982) and Mills (2010 [1988]) draw connections between the manufacturing of meaning through the commodification of culture and gentrification processes. Displacement as a process takes many forms and can be experienced both directly and indirectly (Davidson & Lees, 2010). Displacements not necessarily only tied to the exact moment of relocation from a particular place and can be understood as part of a psychological and emotional loss of a sense of place.

Gentrification research constructs artists in many different ways. They are portrayed as *f* victims and aggressors; as vital in the (re)construction of place; and as useful intermediary tenants in catalyzing change in underused or vacant spaces in the urban fabric,, (Mathews, 2010, p.672). Where the arts are used to draw investment, artists are used as *f* bridge gentrifiers,, to help naturalize change (Zukin, 1995) and to refocus the attention away from social issues that may arise from gentrification. Artists are often romanticized for their readiness to live in marginal areas of the city, yet they can also be politicized for contributing to the eventual displacement of lower income groups (Mathews, 2010). Smith (1996) notes that *f* the social meaning of gentrification is increasingly constructed through the vocabulary of frontier myth...., (p.11) and, as such, rhetoric like urban pioneers, homesteaders and settlers is regularly

appropriated by gentrification discourse. Artists are often referred to as urban pioneers and real estate is the *f*, wilderness to be recaptured and tamed,, (Beauregard, 1986 p.12). Artists become actors in the frontier myth; their cultural activities cultivate the physical and symbolic landscape in which they live.

The Bilbao and Millennium Park Effect

Bilbao, a small port city located in the northeast corner of Spain, was once a deteriorating industrial centre, wrought with social instability, economic depression and staggeringly high unemployment rates (Paza, 2007). In an attempt to remedy some of the issues facing Bilbao, the city instituted a redevelopment plan that included strategic investments designed to improve public transportation, reduce pollution, increase economic diversification and promote cultural activities. Arguably one of the most impactful developments was the construction of the iconic Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (GMB), designed by world renowned Canadian-American architect Frank Gehry. Upon completion of the GMB in 1997, the small city was immediately catapulted into the international spotlight, prompting the New York Times to announce that Bilbao had become a pilgrimage site for arts and culture enthusiasts (Vaschamp, 1997).

Hotel rooms and restaurants began to fill up and tourism to Bilbao skyrocketed, giving a much-needed boost to the local economy. The museum was able to recoup construction costs within the first three years of operation from visitors and despite its modest permanent collection, the museum now welcomes over 1 million visitors each year, with 50 percent of visitors travelling to Bilbao from abroad (Micklethwait, 2013). The economic impact that the

iconic museum construction had the branding of the city as cultural hub did not go unnoticed. Now referred to as The Bilbao Effect, contemporary cities are looking to Bilbao as a prime example of how cities can turn around waning economies and boost a city's public profile. As such, cities around the world are building iconic structures in the hopes that they can plug into the same successes.

In 1997, the same year that AMB opened, the mayor of Chicago looked down from an office tower upon an unsightly parking garage and railroad cross that cut through the heart of the city and contemplated what that space would look like transformed into a park. One year later, Mayor Daley had joined forces with John Bryan, the former CEO of Sara Lee Corporation, to officially launch a plan for the Lakefront Millennium Project. The ambitious plan would transform 24.5 acres of non-descript urban land into a bustling public park, complete with performance spaces, world-class public art works and green space (Flanagan, 2008). Since entering the mayoral position Daley had demonstrated a public commitment to the arts and Bryan, knew that a focus on the arts would be something that he could convince his local network to support. Daley and Bryan formed a public-private partnership (P3) to divide the responsibility and expenses between the city and corporate interests. The City of Chicago committed \$270 million to the project and the team was able to generate \$240 million from private sources (Flanagan, 2008).

Frank Gehry was commissioned to design the pavilion and in 1998, Bryan culled together arts professionals and administrators to form the Millennium Park Selection Committee. Despite many attempts, the Selection Committee could not come to agreement on the kinds of public art they would commission, so Bryan turned to the Curator of Modern Art at the Art

Institute to assemble a list of world-known artists. Ultimately, Bryan asked Jeff Koons and Anish Kapoor, two internationally acclaimed artists, to submit public art proposals. The closed competition resulted in the commission of Kapoor's iconic piece, Cloud Gate, commonly referred to as "The Bean" for \$23 million (Flanagan, 2008). The other emblematic public artwork, Jaume Plensa's Crown Fountain, was privately commissioned by the Lester Crown family, at a cost of \$17 million (Flanagan, 2008). Crown Fountain was not selected with any input from Park officials, community members or the Selection Committee, rather it was the Crown family who ran their own competition. The family was personally involved in all aspects of the project from design and installation to engineering and construction. With its ominous monolithic stature, glaring LED lights, and caricature-like faces that spout water, the plans for the piece were originally met with harsh public criticism. Opponents felt that it might turn the Park into Times Square or Disneyfy the area. This sort of criticism would most likely have halted the project had it been publicly funded, but since the decision-making process and funding were in the hands of private investors the project went ahead anyway. Today, both Cloud Gate and Crown Fountain continue to receive millions of onlookers each year and are adored by the citizens of Chicago.

Millennium Park not only changed the way that Chicagoans behave, it also gave the local economy a significant boost. Since opening in 2004, the economic impact that Millennium Park has had on Chicago is staggering. An estimated 3 million people visit the park each year and it is projected to generate \$2.6 billion in revenue from visitor spending between 2005 and 2015 (Flanagan, 2008). Sales at nearby restaurants, theatre, retail stores and hotels are booming and the real estate market in the surrounding area is expected to continue to

rise steeply, by \$1.4 billion through to 2015 (Flanagan 2008). While the park's original Master Plan was budgeted at \$150 million, the overall final price tag was a staggering \$475 million (Flanagan 2008). Despite cost overruns, the City of Chicago maintained original budgeted contributions and the remainder of costs were borne by the deep pockets of the private donors. As a result, the budget for the park did not become a point of political controversy for public citizens and tax payers. Had it not been created as a P3 project, the overspending would have undoubtedly resulted in a massive scandal, which commonly occurs in publicly commissioned public art programs. The fact that Millennium Park was set up as a P3 project was critical for its success and is reshaping public art commissioning and practices. As a result of this partnership we are seeing an international trend towards privately funded public art projects.

The Millennium Park Effect helps explain the attractiveness of bringing iconic works created by established artists and architects to cities across North America. A concern that is often overlooked in discussions around a move towards a privatized funding model for public art is the way in which the public at large is left out of the discussion and decision making process. Public art that is instituted on a municipal level through the Percent for Public Art programs often endeavours to involve the public in some aspects of the decision making process. While the community engagement and consultation in municipally driven public art processes are not always successful, the switch to a privatized public art funding model leaves the aestheticization of public spaces in the hands of private corporations and individuals. Another concern that arises from the privatized model was articulated by Gregory Knight, Chicago's Deputy Commissioner/Visuals at the City of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs, who suggests that since Millennium Park was built he has found that it is becoming increasingly

f, more difficult to introduce indigenous ideas and projects than Chicago focused on and to avoid (the pressure of) taking on projects that have been done in other cities (cited in Flanagan, 2008, p.147). The long-term impacts of excluding localized voices and a marked shift to focus only on iconic pieces by internationally recognizable artists are only beginning to be felt.

Calgary Context

Calgary is home to the second highest number of head offices in Canada and has become a booming economic and business hub (Calgary Economic Development, 2012). It is a new city, trying hard to reinvent its self-image and growing at an unprecedented rate. Calgary has not been immune to lure of the Bilbao and Millennium Park Effect and is actively integrating iconic structures into the cityscape in the hopes of becoming a creative city. The federal government selected Calgary to be the 2012 Cultural Capital of Canada, solidifying the city's commitment to the arts and culture through a large financial investment giving the small city some national creative clout. Since real estate development and capital investment is booming in Calgary, the city is witnessing a major boost in public art commissions. While the City adheres to its own Percent for Public Art funding strategy for its own capital projects, private developers are also taking advantage of the City's Downtown Density Bonus System, which grants developers additional density in exchange for integrating improvements and amenities, such as public art, the urban environment.

Trends in international urban planning circles that aim to create more livable and sustainable cities are also beginning to infiltrate into Calgary. Since the 1950s Calgary has been

spreading outwards, designing its neighbourhoods and communities on car-centric suburban lifestyles. The long-term infrastructure and maintenance costs associated with this suburban expansion are only beginning to be felt. The environmental sustainability of such lifestyles is now being brought into question. One of the objectives set out in the 2009 Calgary Municipal Development Plan is to strike a balance between the building of new greenfield developments and the intensification of higher-density development in established communities through the introduction of townhomes, flats, condominiums and brownfield conversions. As such, we are seeing an increase in new public art introduced into areas of the downtown core and surrounding neighbourhoods like East Calgary that are being redeveloped and densified. Private developers like TORODE and the Calgary Municipal Land Corporation are highlighted in the following Case Study, understand that the creation of livable and walkable spaces that are aesthetically appealing make their real estate projects desirable to potential investors and inner-city dwellers.

Similarly to Chicago, Calgary now boasts two of its own Jaume Plensa pieces. Unveiled in March 2013, *Wonderland* and *Alberta's Dream* were privately-commissioned by Encana and Cenovus for the plaza of their new 58-storey Bow tower. The public artwork was big news across the country, with the *Toronto Star* suggesting that the work by the Spanish artist has helped Calgary finally 'come of age' (Hume, 2013). Newly commissioned public artworks and landmark buildings in the East Village are also helping to transform derelict parts of the urban landscape into cultural hotspots. The Calgary Stampede even has a public art committee, which helps integrate public art into the Stampede grounds, as well as public sites around downtown. Rumors abound that another local developer has been in discussions with Anish Kapoor about

commissioning a public artwork piece for their new office tower project. The competitive nature of the new construction and real estate development in Calgary's downtown core is pushing developers to vie for big named artists to create works for their projects.

While the city is currently witnessing substantial investments from the private sector in public art, the City of Calgary also understands the economic and cultural impact of landmark architecture and iconic works of public art. The City also now owns a pedestrian bridge by world-famous Spanish architect, sculptor and structural engineer Santiago Calatrava. Despite the fact that this publicly funded project became a site of contention for tax payers, the celebrated bridge has become an icon for the city. Over the years, the City of Calgary has acquired a substantial Public Art Collection and in 1996, the City identified a need to create a system to manage the thousands of visual assets in its collection. In 2003, City Council approved the decision to draft a Public Art Policy (City of Calgary 2014a) and in 2004 Council implemented the Public Art Policy to pursue the integration of public art in the cultural fabric of Calgary, recognizing public art as a vital ingredient in Calgary's ongoing development as a great, creative city. (City of Calgary 2009, p. 1).

The City of Calgary's Corporate Public Art Policy was founded on international best practices and included the Percent for Public Art strategy to provide funding for the administration, acquisition and management of public art projects for capital projects that exceed \$1 million (City of Calgary, 2014). These funds, which are mainly restricted to the capital project budget, are managed by the Business Unit responsible for the project. Each Business Unit works closely with a coordinator from the City's Public Art Program who is responsible for the coordinating the adjudication and selection process of the public art component as well as the

management, communication, maintenance and administrative detailing of all City funded public art projects. Unlike the private commissioning process, the structure of the City's Percent for Public Art strategy is restricted to new capital investment, thereby making it fairly inflexible and more susceptible to public criticism. Since the program is tied to capital projects, neighbourhoods experiencing expansion of services and infrastructure are receiving a majority of the city-funded public art projects, whereas older areas with little development receive minimal support, thus increasing the spatial inequality of the program's distribution across the city. Current international best practices dictate that investments in public art should be integrated into the design process and construction of all new capital projects. Therefore the presence of public art increases in times of economic boom, when building and construction is prevalent. The larger the scope and projected budget of the project, the higher the price tag for the public art components.

Similar to most other public art programs across North America, Calgary's Public Art Program is familiar with some of the controversies that emerge when public funds are spent on art. In September 2013, City of Calgary's Department of Transportation unveiled a \$47,000 public art project, entitled Travelling Light (City of Calgary, 2014b). The site-specific piece was installed on along a relatively nondescript highway overpass and was commissioned as part of the 96 Avenue NE Extension and Interchange Upgrade Project (City of Calgary, 2014b). The 17 metre high circular steel structure, commonly referred to as 'The Blue Ring', was designed by German design group, Ingenio, and fabricated by Calgary-based custom construction company, Heavy Industries. As soon as Travelling Light was unveiled, it immediately sent ripples across Calgary and there was mass public outcry about the piece's odd location,

exorbitant price tag, obtuse visual design and lack of community engagement and consultation. Despite the fact that 80 percent of the public art budget went to local businesses to cover the steel fabrication, electrical, engineering, project management and installers, the public was disappointed that the selected commission went to an international artist, rather than a local artist. Considering that the piece was unveiled during a municipal election, the debate surrounding the publicly funded piece picked up steam in the media, eventually garnering it national and international press.

As a result of the Blue Ring debacle, a Notice of Motion (NM2013-34) was presented by Council on December 16, 2013, to review the City's Public Art Policy (City of Calgary, 2013). In May 2014, City Council voted to adjust the one percent allocated for public art to a scale between one and 0.5 percent with a cap of \$4 million per project (Markusoff & Wright, 2014). Council also recommended that the city be allowed to accept private donations for public art projects, spend public art dollars on heritage restoration and adjust the definition of art to include functional pieces, such as park benches (Thompson, 2014). The example of the controversy surrounding Travelling Light and resulting City Council decision represents the precariousness that Public Art programs across North America are faced with today. Support for publicly-funded art projects is decreasing, therefore reliance on privatized dollars for public art projects will continue to increase. As more public artworks are commissioned through private sources, well-established public art practices and processes, such as juried selection committees and community consultation, are not necessarily being as rigorously applied and the notion of the public in public art is brought further into question.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

To achieve my research objectives, I conducted eight structured interviews, as well as ongoing informal interviews with stakeholders and community members. My fieldwork included the review of archival material, policy and planning documents, media accounts, press releases, as well as communication and marketing materials. Considering that this study revolves around the exploration of place and, specifically, public art in a specific locale, I spent a considerable amount of time in the field, as an observer residing in and walking about the area. Integrating walking practices, sensory observation and visual methods into my research process helped me to forge my path of inquiry. My in situ explorations were instrumental to the structure of my interviews and the framing of my analysis of how public art is interconnected to urban renewal and revitalization processes in East Calgary.

The following chapter introduces the methods I employed to conduct my interdisciplinary research and highlights some of theoretical ideas associated with these practices. It also outlines my data collection process, along with some of the opportunities and challenges of working with these methods. The final section introduces the path I took to construct my Case Study.

Extending Ethnography

Ethnography has been defined as a method or set of methods that involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, and collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research,, (Hammersly & Atkinson, 1995, p.1). Emerging out of nineteenth century anthropology, ethnography was traditionally the study of a culture or community conducted by Western researchers who came from outside the cultures they were studying and saw themselves as separate from their subjects. The rise of a social constructivism challenged the notion that culture can be studied objectively by taking a purely scientific approach (Walsh, 2012).

Distinguished by its tendency to favour bricolage, blur boundaries and de-centre authority, postmodernism shook the epistemological and ontological foundations of modernist ideas and continues to ricochet across the academic landscape. With the advent of postmodernism, the social sciences have been undergoing a crisis of representation and questioning of modernist ways of knowing, which is resulting in many researchers recognizing the implausibility of collecting and reporting data from an unbiased perspective and reflecting on how they are personally implicated in the research process. As such, there is a mounting interest in contemporary ethnography to offer versions of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced,, (Pink, 2010, p.18). Interpretation and reflexivity have become paramount concerns to ethnography and how knowledge is created, reproduced and represented is frequently taken into account when constructing cultural scripts.

This study does not presume to be a pursuit of a singular, objective reality or quantifiable truth; rather, I have framed my inquiry as a reflexive and interdisciplinary investigation. One of the most fundamental aspects of ethnography is still the observation of everyday situations in the field. With that in mind, I have attempted to incorporate the visual, aural, spatial and tactile experiences that I encountered while moving around and engaging in the field to present snapshots of my experiences through my observations. Without a doubt, combining multiple methods and moving across disciplines can be a complex and messy undertaking; therefore, I adhere to the notion that if there are multiple standards for understanding the world, therefore diversity and contradictions should be incorporated within research accounts,, (Spicer, 2012, p.485).

Place and Space in Ethnography

Notions of space and place have been intrinsically linked to ethnographic practices since emergence in the nineteenth century. In their book, *Locating the Field: Space, Place and Context in Anthropology*, Coleman and Collins (2006) suggest that if spatial metaphors have formed a good portion of the grounds on which ethnographic descriptions and theoretical assumptions have been based,, (p.5). This argument is supported by the prevalence of the sheer number of space-related ethnographic terms that populate the discipline, such as, landscape, field and ground. Urban social research conducted in the first half of the twentieth century by the Chicago School solidified the notion that cultural practices and social structures are determined, in part, by the physical environment (Hammersly & Atkinson, 2007). Ethnographic methods should

therefore engage in a *place* theory of place and place that can engage with both the phenomenology of place and the politics of space,, (Pink, 2009:23). Consideration of how spaces and places contribute to the construction of culture can be valuable to the ethnographic process and conducting research in the field can help a researcher gain insight into how their subject is entangled in the construction of that place. Place is central to our understanding of how we exist in the world, than ethnographers should also be aware of how their presence in a place and research methods are entangled in the construction of those places.

In the mid 1990s, social scientists and geographers began to rethink how they approached their understanding of and relationship to notions of space and place through what is now referred to as the spatial turn (Massey, 2005; Soja, 1993 & Arias, 2009). As a result of the turn, space is no longer simply considered to be a fixed, physical, stable territory relegated to the margins of academia. Rather, the spatial turn suggests that space is an evolving, dynamic and discursive practice that plays a central role in the construction of social and cultural interactions (Warf & Arias, 2009). Discrepancies between the terms space and place are still widely contested today with some theorists have abandoning the use of the word space altogether when discussing social accounts. The terms are often used interchangeably, which continues to cause inconsistency in many theoretical texts (Kirby, 2011).

Doreen Massey (2005) suggests that space is always under construction and places can be understood to be the collections of stories and enunciations of the power relations that happen within a particular location. Places and senses of place are constructed as people invest local with emotional and symbolic significance and where stories, histories and experiences converge. Casey (1996) proposes that the construction of place is also a continuous process and series of

events that unfold over time which are bound to people ~~experiences~~. Massey (2012) suggests that these emotional ties to places do not emerge organically, rather ~~they~~ are the product of relations and interactions, both within the place itself and more widely (p. xiii). She suggests that a sense of place cannot be understood without connections to and influences from other places and are rarely singular. In her book, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* Lucy Lippard (1997) suggests that a sense of place can be used as a technique by those who do not feel that they belong in a place feel that they do, even just for a moment. Establishing a sense of place and a sensitivity to place can be beneficial because it can provide much-needed connections to what we call "nature" and, in some cases, to cultures not our own (Lippard, 1997, p.33).

Today, policy makers, planners and developers are paying increased attention to how they can address the predicament of trying to create and sustain a sense of place (Fleming, 2007). The synergistic relationship between ethnography and place can be particularly relevant to the study of public art, which is often born out of a desire to undertake specific placemaking initiatives. Placemaking is a term used by urban planners that denotes a rethinking of our association with a place that has the potential to transform a physical environment from a space of alienation to a place of meaningful connection. Public sculptures and monuments may commemorate an event or time in history, portray utopian visions of a place or aspire to generate an aesthetic experience, intellectual exchange or emotional connection. Regardless of the intention of a public artwork, I argue that the integration of public art into infrastructure and urban development projects can be viewed as a deliberate attempt to construct a "sense of place" through cultural placemaking initiatives.

Gaston Bachelard (1994) suggests that we cannot remain indifferent to a place, once it becomes lived in, experienced and enters a person's imagination. Over the course of my research, my understanding of the physical spaces that I was studying shifted and my emotional connection to the place and the artworks themselves profoundly changed and deepened. As a result of my embodied interactions, my attachment to the communities which I studied became entangled in the placemaking process and helped me to establish my own unique sense of place. My interpretations of how the physical and cultural landscape was reshaped through the introduction of public art in the places that I was studying was extended through the deepening associations I had to the historical, political and economic landscape.

Attending to the Senses

The dominance of vision over the other senses dates back to the Renaissance and contemporary Western society still generally favours vision over the other senses (Rose, 2012). However, attending to how all the senses work together in tandem can provide a fuller representation of a living culture. There is currently a growing number of researchers who are extending ethnography by paying attention to embodied sensory experiences of the field (Pink, 2009). In *Landscapes of the Mind*, Douglas Porteous (1990) suggests that people come to identify with a sense of a place through the experiential interplay between the senses and questions the dominance of vision over other senses, such as smell and sound. Pink (2009) proposes that the senses should not be understood in separation from each other and are mediators of experience. Ethnographers can, therefore, gain insight into a place and people's

experiences by attending to their senses (Howes, 2006). Taking a multisensory approach to space recognizes the interwovenness of objects, texts, images and technologies in people's everyday lives and identities,, (Pink, 2001, p.6). Sensory practices inform our perception and understanding and, therefore, must be accounted for in the design practice of ethnography (Pink, 2011) and research of visual artifacts, such as public art, should be guided by the fact that images and material objects are experienced in multisensory environments.

The field of sensory ethnography is experiencing growing pains, with criticisms emerging from both within and outside the field of anthropology. Some scholars are questioning why there has been a sudden rise of interest in sensory ethnography, while other academics are skeptical of whether sensory ethnography is even a new method at all. For example, Atkinson (2005) suggests that the increased interest in sensorial experience is simply a reaction to the rise in fragmentation between ethnographic methodologies. Pink (2009) suggests that sensory ethnography simply builds on and rethinks late twentieth century approaches to ethnography. Echoing her sentiment, Hurdley & Dicks (2011) suggest that ethnographers have often paid insufficient attention to the range of multimodal/multisensory resources at play in settings, so the current reclaiming of the importance of nonlinguistic phenomena is an important extension, though not, admittedly, a departure,, (p.284). Sensory data was an important element of my data collection process and while it sense ethnography was not my sole methodology, my decision to attend to sensory experiences in the field was a deliberate attempt to deepen and enrich my understanding of how public art operates within the physical spaces and social terrain that I was studying.

The public artworks that focus on are primarily visually based works. Similar to other kinds of visual media, public art contains symbolic markers that can help viewers identify, interpret and deconstruct a work of art by looking at it. As a researcher, I am able to collect data by visually observing the style, form, material composition and subject matter, thereby helping me to attribute the artworks to a particular genre, artist, movement or time in history. That said, public art is unique in that it is often site specific and innately interconnected to the physical and social landscape in which it is located. Even if a work situated in a location it was not created for, or fundamentally connected to a place, its mere presence in the particular location affects people's experience and understanding of that place. To gain a fuller understanding of how the work of public art functions in place and its influence on the social environment, I decided to move beyond visual analysis to attend to the sensory experiences of being in those places. While sensation is central to human perception (Casey, 1996; Merleau-Ponty, 2002), "sense data" must be laid over an existing body of knowledge. Perceiving variances in weather, ambient smells and acoustic soundscapes helped me observe how these sensory experiences intersected with my ongoing research over time. This sensorial layering of data assisted me to establish a personal sense of place and gain a distinctive feel for the place itself. Over time, my embodied experiences in the field became integral to my understanding of the cultural contexts of the artworks and how they function within the landscape that they are situated in.

Research on Foot

I walk a lot...I walk to go places, but more often than not, simply walk to explore, to balance my thoughts, give myself the space to breathe and experience my surroundings. As I walk and move through space, the world unfolds before me and I am able to weave places together,,(de Certeau,1984). Solnit (2001) refers to walking as, " a mode of making the world as well as being in it,, (p.29). New approaches to social research offer opportunities to explore a subject and generate new knowledge. In 2010, Visual Studies assembled a special issue focused on how the practice of walking is being taken up as both a theoretical framework and methodological practice across academic disciplines. The guest editors of the publication argued that walking should be considered, a central means of both creating new embodied ways of knowing and producing scholarly narrative,(Pink et al., 2010, p.1). Lee and Ingold (2006) suggest that the incorporation of walking to field observation enables researchers to participate in embodied interactions with both their subjects and the environment. The kinesthetic experience of walking can open up a researcher to fuller sensory understanding of a place through new sensorial experiences and unexpected encounters in the field.

Massey (2005) writes that to travel between places is to move between collections of trajectories and to reinsert yourself in the ones to which you relate,, (p.130). By being in a place and moving around it, a researcher becomes part of the story and is able to begin to piece together the stories and cultural narratives that make up a place. Another strength of incorporating walking practices into social research can be understood through Margaret Rodman's notion of multi-locality. Rodman(2003)suggests that we should seek to understand the construction of place from multiple viewpoints,, and that a single physical landscape can be

multilocal in the sense that it shapes and expresses polysemic meanings for different users,, (p.212). Being on the ground in a location is an important aspect of ethnography and moving around a field of study can assist a researcher to refine their understanding of people and places or how they are networked.

Ingold (2006) suggests that places are not fixed and stable locations, rather places are created through movements along pathways. As people travel along these pathways, various events and experiences unfold along the route, intersect and become knotted with the ways of experience. Places, then, are like knots, and the thread from which they are tied are lines of wayfaring,, (Ingold, 2011, p.33) He refers to this process of entanglement as *meshwork*, a term borrowed from Henri Lefebvre (1991), to describe the networked patterns of events and experiences that coalesce to create places. Ingold's concepts echo Michel de Certeau's thoughts on how the everyday practices of walking can create places, suggesting that the act knits places together and *pedestrian movements* form one of these *real systems* whose existence in fact makes up the city,, (1984, p.97).

Walking alone and observing how the landscapes change over time can help produce deeper associations with a place. Lippard (1997) suggests that the *meditative* action of walking *offers* an unparalleled way to open oneself to the *spirit of place* and to its subterranean history,, (p.17). Walking alone can offer a *slow* experience. On one hand, going for a stroll can enable you to take in *sights, smells and sounds* of your surroundings in a detailed way, while on the other hand, it can also be an *intuitive* and reflective activity. Unplanned meandering and psychogeographical explorations can lead to serendipitous encounters that can *help* researchers discover new sites, perform different ways of being in a

place and forge new research paths. Situationist Guy Debord (1956) refers to the experimental practice of wandering *à dérive* or drifting, and suggests that playful unstructured journeys through the urban landscape can provide opportunities for unexpected authentic experiences and the development of subconscious connections to a place.

Walking with participants during ethnographic interviews can also introduce unique opportunities to interact with research participants in new ways. Lee and Ingold (2006) point to Clifford Geertz's seminal 1973 ethnography of Balinese cockfighting to illustrate how moving in the same direction as your participants can help break down walls between researcher and subject. They note that it wasn't until Geertz physically ran away from the police during an illegal cockfight alongside the Balinese people, that he was able to gain their trust and confidence. Lee and Ingold (2006) suggest that rather than confronting participants face-to-face, walking with participants and, heading the same ways, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats, enables ethnographers to open up new lines of communication and opportunities for interaction. I conducted interviews in situ with three of the artists responsible for creating public art in East Village. By conducting interviews while walking with a selection of my participants around the East Village site, I was able to gain in-depth insight into the iconography of the work, while also learning about how the artists were intrinsically connected to the local environment. As I walked alongside the artists, they told me stories about the location and we interacted with the public art in a tactile way. On-site interviews also gave me the opportunity to witness how the artists interacted with other people and the environmental elements in the space, which also helped to reveal hidden narratives about the site and their relationships to it.

In addition to conducting interviews on foot, I also walked extensively around my field study throughout the duration of the project. In fact, it was on a long and meandering walk to establish my bearings in my new neighbourhood that I first encountered Oppenheimer's *Root Out Evil*, which ultimately launched this research inquiry. Over the weeks and months that I spent living in East Calgary, I expanded my explorations on foot and began to piece together how the fabric of the communities and how the development projects were linked to the presence of these artworks. As I habitually travelled down certain pathways, my understanding of the topography deepened and even seemingly insignificant places, which Augé (1995) refers to as *non-places*, began to take on new meaning. As I expanded my explorations around the neighbourhoods and as I unearthed new social and cultural connections between the places that I was studying and the artworks situated in them, the *non-places* eventually transformed into places filled with meaning.

Asking Questions and Having Conversations

Another important component of my research was asking questions and having conversations. I conducted eight semi-structured interviews with individuals directly involved in the creation, management and/or commissioning of public art around Calgary. I compiled my list of potential interviewees based on my reading and research into public art, targeting individuals connected to artworks recently installed in the East Village and Ramsay areas. I divided prospective interviewees into three categories: artists, developers and public art managers. In addition to conducting formal interviews with individual community members to ensure that I maintained a

focused scope and avoid the inherent pitfalls of attempting to define which communities to draw from (economic versus geographical community, etc.). I connected with some of my interviewees through personal contacts and reached out to others via email through their professional organizations. Using this communication strategy, I was successful in recruiting three artists, two developers and three public art managers for formal interviews (see Appendix A for list). Six of the interviews took place in traditional office settings and two interviews were conducted while walking around the artworks at the CMLC's East Village development.

Each interview was between 45 and 90 minutes in length and was recorded on a digital audio recorder. Considering that each individual played a different role in the public art realm, I catered my interview questions for each interviewee. By asking the interviewees different sets of questions, I was able to fill in gaps in my research. The questions were designed to encourage each individual to share their personal perspectives on the public process and explore their relationship to the specific public art project they had worked on. I structured my questions so that all of my interviews touched on how public art intersects with the following themes: community and identity; economic and social relationships; place and location; policy, process and procedure; and Calgary's current cultural and economic climate. I guided the interviews so that they touched on all of these themes, yet I endeavoured to remain as flexible as possible during the interviews to accommodate the natural flow of the narrative and the direction that each conversation took. Following each interview, I wrote field notes to further capture the encounter. All of the interviews were transcribed and I worked with the text to still the central ideas and tease out the key themes that had emerged. When transcribing the two on interviews, I noted the ambient sounds and street level interactions that took place, where

appropriate. The formal interviews that I conducted were instrumental in helping me frame my Case Study and provided a base for my understanding of issues around public art and gentrification, both in Calgary and beyond.

In addition to conducting formal interviews, I also conducted informal interviews about public art with gallery owners, private developers, neighbours and members of the arts community. I participated in public workshops, such as the City of Calgary's Art 101, and attended various speakers on public art, such as Calgary Economic Development's Soul of the City series and the independently produced talks. I also attended community meetings hosted by private developers in both Ramsay and East Village where I had the chance to converse with community members and real estate professionals. Throughout the duration of the project, I also had ongoing informal discussions and conversations with other real estate developers and commercial property managers about their views on public art and how it relates to their company's strategic goals and business objectives. These ongoing casual conversations and experiences afforded me the opportunity to continually gather data on an ongoing basis and seek out diverse perspectives and opinions, which informed my research.

Resource Materials

A significant component of my data collection process included the review of a wide variety of resource materials. I delved into archival materials and documentation that highlighted the histories of the areas that I was studying and accessed accounts of the region online and at the Glenbow archive. In addition, I also brought historical images, maps, planning documents with

me on my walks to help understand how the use of land had been transformed and compare how the topography of the area had ~~been~~ ^{evolved} over time.

East Calgary is uniquely situated within the city at the convergence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers and the area's unique natural topography brings with it a remarkable ~~history~~ ^{cultural} history. I did not limit my historical research to ~~academic~~ ^{academic} texts, photographs and written accounts, ~~also~~ ^{also} actively ~~took~~ ^{looked} into consideration the material and cultural artifacts in the area and used buildings, houses, roads and environment features in the landscape as reference points and markers. Observing the incredible diversity of built structures and natural forms helped me chronicle the history of development in this area and how land has been utilized and rezoned over time. By attending to the ~~compositional~~ ^{compositional} make-up of the area, I was able to better understand these works of art, how they related to their locations and the conditions that brought them to their locales.

Many of the artworks that I studied were featured in media reports, ~~websites~~ ^{websites} and blogs. Collecting and reviewing communication and marketing materials ~~produced~~ ^{produced} by the commissioning organizations helped me ~~gain~~ ^{gain} insight into how developers had framed these artworks in relation to their location and real estate development plans. Referencing online resources, press releases, social media streams, and ~~newspapers~~ ^{newspapers} proved to be a vital part of my data collection process and provided insight into how these artworks had been framed by developers and ~~been~~ ^{been} publicly received. I also read public art plans, policies, community plans and program documents created ~~by~~ ^{by} the City of Calgary and private developers. These documents, coupled with my interviews, enriched my understanding of how the public art process is handled ~~at~~ ^{at} a municipal level and how public art practices relate to commercial real estate, community and ~~cultural~~ ^{cultural} development and urban planning practices.

Challenges and Opportunities

Taking an interdisciplinary ethnographic approach had its challenges but also provided me with some unique opportunities. Throughout my research process I took photographs, traced my walking path on maps, created sketches, recorded ambient sounds and typed down field notes. From the early stages, it was immediately apparent that I was collecting more data than I could process. Even after addressing my data management issue, I was still faced with the challenge of how best to represent the different forms of data within the confines of a written report. Analysis of different kinds of data can get quite complex and messy. Through my research pursuits I discovered how extremely difficult it can be to document and manage sensory data. Not only was the management of so much data unwieldy, I learned that photos do not always do an experience justice, written adjectives are not always sufficient in articulating sensorial encounters and ambient audio recordings, when displaced from their source, can be very difficult to attend to.

Traditionally, cultural researchers have favoured written text over visual and sensory means of communication to conduct their research. While I decided to include a few photographs within this report, it is mainly written text that I translated from a myriad of media materials. I tried to remain cognisant of the inevitable loss of data and information that occurs when visual or sensory experiences are translated into text or verbally articulated and, like any project, had to manage the difficult task of figuring out what to include and exclude from the report. To meet this challenge, I regularly reviewed my visual research diary,, (Emmel & Cole, 2011). This collection of detailed information provided me with clues on how to respond to my senses, apply my theories and reflect on how my relationship to those places had shifted over time.

Attending to the dynamic layers of data helped me to interpret my reflexive engagement with the subject and played a fundamental role in assisting me to draw interconnections between the places that I was studying. The following case study represents my interpretation of the current landscape of East Calgary. As such, I not only tell the story of a physical landscape based on specific geographical boundaries, but I attempt to construct evocative descriptions of the place that provide glimpses into pieces of the hidden social landscapes that make up that place. Positioning public art at the heart of my research affords me the opportunity to connect public art practices to the cultural and social realities facing this dynamic and changing area of the city and helped to frame my investigation.

Given the inherent restrictions of conducting a one-year Master's project, I narrowed the research of my scope to a limited geographical region focusing on newly commissioned public artworks situated within that region. Concentrating on a specific locale provided many advantages and my decision to focus my scope to the specific geographical region where I lived proved to be extremely beneficial because I was able to integrate my walking practice and data collection activities into my daily life, easily access local knowledge and conduct formal and informal interviews, as needed. Conducting research on foot and attending to the embodied experience of being in the field can be challenging in certain climates and the extreme cold weather I often experienced within my geographical area proved to be an ongoing challenge to my walking practices and eventually thwarted some of my attempts to arrange on-site, outdoor interviews with my subjects. At the same time, working outdoors provided me with unique insight into the environmental elements and physical landscape of the area. For example, over time I became attuned to how shifts in weather revealed different patterns in the city. As the

seasons changed, so did the smells in the air, the way I moved across pathways and kinds of unexpected encounters that I had in the field.

Constructing the Case Study

Lefebvre (1991) suggests that to understand the politics of a space, we must shift our focus from the study of things in space to the production of those spaces. By investigating the social relationships between the production of an object and the space that it occupies, we can begin to disassemble the interests that contributed to the creation of those spaces. For example, an analysis of a public artwork will tell us little about the space that the artwork is situated, unless we investigate the process of how that work came to be installed in that space and attempt to understand the politics that contributed to the production of that space. By looking at the historical, social, environmental and economic forces that shape our urban environment, we are able to better understand how our contemporary social spaces are transformed and begin to dissect the interests and motives behind the production of those spaces. The following examination of the landscape of East Calgary and recently installed privately commissioned public art endeavours to reveal the forces that are currently reshaping the physical and social landscape of this changing area.

The following Case Study is comprised of three distinct narratives. The first narrative, Sensing East Calgary, weaves together my own corporeal experiences living in East Calgary together with the broader cultural and geographical topography. It explores how gentrification and revitalization processes are currently effecting this inner city neighbourhood, while taking

into consideration how the historical and physical character of the landscape plays a part in a larger economic and social restructuring process. The public artworks which are the focus of the following two narratives are all situated within urban development projects in East Calgary and my intention with the first narrative is to introduce the current physical, social and sensorial terrain of East Calgary. The following two narratives, A Walk around Device to Root Out Evil and A Walk through East Village, are constructed as solitary walks around public artworks situated on private development sites. Both narratives explore some of the factors that led to the siting of these public artworks and reveal how developers are using public art to brand and shape spaces and frame public perception of the place. By positioning these two narratives as walks, I reveal how these public art works function as placemaking markers that not only helped me to establish a sense of place but also served as reminders of displacement, impermanence, economic disparity and the inevitability of change that result from gentrification.

Ingold (2006) suggests that places should not be interpreted as stationary locations, rather that places are events and experiences that unfold along pathways. As we travel along these pathways, various events and experiences unfold along the way, intersect and become knotted with other pathways of experience. Dividing up my Case Study into three narratives affords me the opportunity to explore my terrain from along different pathways. While the three narratives can be read separately, together they paint the landscape of my interpretation of the place. All three narratives touch on issues of social and economic emplacement and displacement, cultural consumption and production and the kinds of social transformation that occur in urban environments. The result is a loosely woven tapestry that illustrates my understanding of public art and the landscape of East Calgary at this particular juncture.

CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDY

Sensing East Calgary

In the spring of 2013, my husband and I moved to Ramsay, where we rented the top floor of a 1910 home that had been converted into three rental apartments. With less than a one percent rental vacancy rate, we felt lucky to get the place even though the rent was high and there were obviously glaring issues with the property. Our little house was perched at the top of a large sloping hill and looking east from the front picture window, I could see almost all of the Ramsay and Inglewood neighbourhoods. I would often get up at dawn to look out over the expansive view. I have lived in 17 different homes in major cities over the past 12 years and in those quiet mornings, as I looked over the sleepy homes that dotted the tree lined streets, I would imagine that, in fact, I was living in a small town and that I had known all of the neighbours my entire life.

The expansive view to the east from my front window encompassed a few active industrial facilities that surrounded Ramsay's perimeter and the atmospheric quality of the light at the sunrise over the industrial towers that pumped out warm steam and the railcars in the distance reminded me of a Turner painting. The view from my back porch was vastly different. Backing onto an alleyway, my view outside was broken up and abstracted by poles, telephone poles and cables. From certain angles, I could see the top of the brightly coloured strip of LED lights atop the Arriva high rise condominium building and the recently constructed 158y Bow building. It was as if my view to the east looked into the past, while my view to the west looked toward the future.

From the first day we moved into the apartment, it was immediately apparent that the community was undergoing a transition when a brief introduction to our new neighbour quickly turned into a warning about the dangers of living in Ramsay. We still had our moving boxes in our arms as she told us a tale about a home invasion and robbery that she had experienced earlier that year. She linked her traumatic experience to the recent revitalization of nearby Victoria Park and the demolition of many of the boarding houses and tent hotels in the East Village. It seemed as though the nearby urban regeneration projects were pushing marginalized people further east, away from downtown and into Ramsay. Needless to say, word of the violent home invasion scared us, which could very well have been her intention. She had lived in her house for over 30 years and she made it clear to us that she was another pair of revolving tenants, in a long series of many, occupying the rental property next door.

My sense of smell became oddly heightened as soon as I moved into the area as I was immediately aware of the different scents that wafted through the air. Unable to distinguish the smells' origins at first, I eventually learned that the sweet scents came from fermentation of yeast from a factory directly east of my house towards the historic Inglewood neighbourhood. The sugary smell in the air seemed fitting for Inglewood, which was once named Brewery Flats because it was the home of Calgary Brewing and Malting Company. Founded in 1892 by A.E. Cross, an infamous Calgarian rancher and one of the original founders of the Calgary Stampede, the brewery was one of the city's very first major industries and operated in Inglewood for over 100 years (Heritage Canada The National Trust, 2014). The sweet fermentation smells harkened back to the history of the area. I found the smell comforting and it made me feel that I was somehow a part of the subterranean memory of the city.

The other prevailing smell that I regularly experienced was much more alarming and disconcerting. It had a suffocating biochemical quality to it that became increasingly pungent on hot days. In due course, I came to understand that the jarring smell emanating from the Lilydale chicken processing plant situated in the eastern corner of Ramsay. Located directly beside residential houses and a school, the chicken plant has received regular criticisms from the community for years and the company has even been taken to court complaints over odour control, noise infractions and inadequate storage of raw chicken (City of Calgary, 2014). The other off-putting smell came from inside the walls of our old house. It had a distinct smell that we were told might be caused from the insulation, which could either be made from horsehair or bunched up old newspapers, both common materials used in local building practices of the early 1900s. I spent a lot of time at home that summer and after a while, I learned that I could watch out the window for shifts in wind for changes in the direction on my neighbour's flag to know when I should adjust my windows to either draw in or shut out different aromas. This activity mixed with the cacophony of scents regularly reminded me that I was living in a space of contention between industry and community, old and new, past and present.

Ramsay, along with Inglewood, was once called East Calgary and is often referred to as the birthplace of the city (City of Calgary, 1994). The area is sometimes lovingly referred to as 'Ramsay Island' by some locals because of its relative geographical isolation. The community is bordered by the Manchester industrial area to the south and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) lines delineate its northern and eastern boundaries. The west side of the community is in a huge escarpment named Scotsman Hill that drops sharply down to the Elbow River and the Calgary Stampede grounds. While it is only a short distance down to anyone going in and out

of Ramsay can attest to its geographical isolation. Whether caused by commercial activities in the industrial area, trains blocking main intersections or traffic congestion caused by events on the Stampede Grounds, the area prove to be relatively inconvenient to access. This relative isolation could be one reason why Ramsay has lagged behind adjacent communities, such as Victoria Park and East Village, in undergoing the process of urban renewal. This seclusion could also be an indicator of why real estate is significantly more affordable than the neighbouring communities, such as Inglewood. On my walks through the area, I often felt very isolated, like I was pinned in by the geographical and physical boundaries of the neighbourhood. This feeling was especially strong when I wandered off the residential streets and into industrial areas or along desolate and overgrown pathways.

Many Ramsayites have added their own creative embellishments to their properties, such as hand-painted doors and colourful garage murals, and unique objects that fill their porches and yards. There is a spattering of multi-unit residential complexes and the recent onslaught of modern infills and new construction that have popped up over the past few years are evidence that the urban renewal and gentrification processes are underway. The ridge along Scotsman Hill is rapidly being redeveloped, as the small bungalows are disappearing, transformed into modern manors with walls of windows to take in the expansive view of the entire city and the Rocky Mountains beyond. There are still surprisingly few businesses and public amenities in Ramsay and many of the newer small businesses that have recently opened, such as the old-timey ice cream parlour and child-friendly diner, play up the vintage vibe of area.

Figure 2: Examples of creative embellishments on Ramsay homes.
Photos courtesy the author, 2014

In 1994, the City of Calgary created the Ramsay Area Redevelopment Plan, which officially designated the neighbourhood an area of historical significance. Ramsay's quaint residential streets are comprised primarily of single-family dwellings that vary in style, shape and size. Some of the original sandstone buildings and craftsman bungalows still exist, reflecting the area's history as Calgary's original working class area. The neighbourhood looks like it has been pieced together over the years by independent builders and it still maintains the feel of a small frontier parish, subtly nestled on the edge of the Stampede grounds and Fort Calgary. On my long exploratory walk through the area, I would observe the architectural make-up of the houses and crisscrossed layout of the streets patterns. Many of the homes and buildings have been lovingly restored, while others have fallen into various stages of disrepair. The additions

and renovations on the homes tell the story of a space always under construction, the landscapes and structures altered by different inhabitants over time.

Figure 3: Examples of old and new construction in Ramsay.
Photos courtesy the author, 2014

The railway played a vital role in the settlement of East Calgary and from my east facing window, I could see the colourful railcars as they gathered and shifted in the yard beyond the factories. The sounds of the trains breaking as they coupled and uncoupled from each other often sounded like nails scrapping across a chalkboard. When I first moved into the house, the noise from the trains would shake me awake in the middle of the night. But in time, I was no longer fazed by the industrial clamour and the sounds simply faded into the background. I slowly learned that I could listen to the direction that the trains were traveling to help my path through the neighbourhood. On days that I would leave the area, I would listen for trains passing north of me, so that I could avoid getting stuck at the rail crossing. This practice proved to be especially important on extremely cold days when I could find myself standing for upwards of

twenty minutes waiting for train to pass. Eventually, I got so used to the rail sounds that I had to consciously remember to try to listen for them as I left the house.

To the west of Ramsay, below Scotsman Hill runs the Elbow River and immediately beyond the river lies the Stamped Grounds. The Elbow River flows northward to meet the Bow River and a small bridge that runs down the Avenue connects Fort Calgary to Inglewood. A little further west of Fort Calgary, along the Bow River is an area known as the East Village. The area where the two rivers converge was once a place of spiritual importance and a wintering ground for the Blackfoot people until it was established as a frontier outpost in 1875. Around that time, rumors began circulating that the CPR might direct its railroad through Calgary rather than Edmonton. These rumours attracted hordes of land speculators hoping to cash in on increased property values. Once the CPR arrived, real estate investors began to buy up the land around East Calgary, presuming that the most logical location for the town site would be where the two rivers meet. To the speculators' chagrin, the CPR made a last minute decision to reroute the railway into present day downtown, avoiding Fort Calgary, Inglewood and East Village completely. Section 15 in Township 14, now known as East Village, morphed into a manufacturing zone. Through the early 1900s, the district was primarily filled with commercial, light industrial businesses and mixed residential. For years, workers would commute on foot to jobs in East Village at the Alaska Bedding Company, general stores or ironsmith shops from their homes in Ramsay, Sunnyside and Inglewood.

East Village was one of the earliest areas to be bought and sold many times over during this real estate frenzy. This area is currently in the midst of another major real estate speculation boom, but that was not always the case. For decades, the area fell into despair during the Great

Depression and in 1941, Calgary's medical officer officially declared the area to be a fSkid Row,, (Fortney, 2013). That reputation stuck and for many years the 49 acre parcel of land located directly east of downtown has been primarily filled with deteriorating buildings, run-down hotel taverns and derelict lots. For years, stories of rampant poverty, public drunkenness, drugs, prostitution and violence that emanated out of the area and into the media. In the 1960s, the City of Calgary issued a new Downtown Master Plan, which aimed at revitalizing the city by bringing more cars into the downtown core. Suburban sprawl grew and the Master Plan geared towards improving the flow of car traffic to move people in and out of the centre faster. Historic areas of the city, like Inglewood, were at risk of being completely demolished to make way for new roads, but local advocates fought diligently to safeguard their community. Other areas like the East Village, which didn't have a strong and organized community base, did not fare as well.

As a result of the Downtown Master Plan, the areas of Eau Claire, East Village and Victoria Park were systematically razed to make room for the restructuring (Fortney, 2013). I could definitely see the remnants of this Plan in present day as I walked around these areas. Many of the vacant lots in Eau Claire and Victoria Park have been replaced with high condominiums, office towers and storefronts which have sprung up during the city's various economic booms. Unlike Eau Claire and Victoria Park, the East Village experienced much slower revitalization and gentrification and the area remained sparsely populated by second-hand shops, hotels and beer halls. Over the years, many of the buildings fell into disrepair and the area was notoriously avoided by many Calgaryans who deemed it to be too downtrodden and dangerous to venture to. In 1985, the design and construction of the new Calgary Municipal

Building, with its ominous glass wall, figuratively and symbolically cut-off the East Village from downtown. Many say that the Municipal Building signalled the moment when Calgary officially turned its back on the community, although others feel that happened long before. Despite news accounts that warned that the area was on the brink of becoming a ghost town (Kennedy, 1981; Ross, 1984), the East Village has always had a small community of residents living in the affordable hotel rooms, drop-in and emergency shelters, seniors homes and low income high-rise apartments. However, those communities which were comprised mostly of transient, elderly and economically challenged individuals were mostly overlooked and cast into the shadows.

For decades, Calgary struggled to agree on how to proceed with development in the East Village. In 2007, after years of reported corruption and botched urban planning schemes, city council formed the Calgary Municipal Land Corporation (CMLC). The CMLC now operates as an incorporated subsidiary of the City of Calgary, whose mandate is to implement and execute the multi-million dollar urban revitalization plan and public infrastructure program through the Rivers District Revitalization Plan. Since 2007, the CMLC has invested approximately \$180 million into infrastructure projects, installing new utilities and creating new roads and parks (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). Many of the older buildings were torn down and the hotels emptied to make way for development, displacing much of the community that lived there. Funds for the East Village's infrastructure improvements are being channeled through a unique funding system, called the Community Revitalization Levy, which the City of Calgary levies and collects property taxes within the Rivers District boundaries and redistributes those funds to support infrastructure projects in East Village. EnCan and Cenovus recently completed Bow

building is a key development within this area and its tax base is credited with helping to kick start the redevelopment in the East Village

Branded as •City Life 2.0, the 49-acre East Village neighbourhood promises to have the bustle and variety of a Soho, the rich character of Montreal's Plateau neighbourhood, and the mix of iconic new architecture and historical buildings that give Vancouver's Gastown its edge,, (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). To date, ground has been broken on three East Village condominiums and the area will be built up, mostly by developers from outside of Calgary, in phases over the next ten years. From my first very walk around East Village, it was immediately apparent that the gentrification process had begun. Over the course of more than a year, I returned regularly to watch the Master Plan as it was carefully unfolding. My walks led me down newly landscaped pathways, around public art works, into the sleek Sales and Experience Centre, passed by the trendy and well-crafted billboard signs as they were being installed in front of new condominium construction sites and stood in the dilapidated lot that will soon be the home of the \$245 million Central Library project. I followed the painstaking restoration of the few existing older brick buildings and watched the dismantling of the notorious King Edward hotel to make room for the new iconic National Music Centre building.

Over the period of time that I lived in East Calgary I grew to know the area well. Simply by being there, I became intimately attuned to the rhythms and subtle patterns that made up that place. I spent hours moving around the area on foot. I travelled from quaint residential streets to desolate industrial complexes. I crossed railway lines, backtracked around dead ends and ventured along river pathways that shifted from hauntingly empty overgrown paths to richly manicured walkways teeming with people. I got caught up in conversations, construction zones

and waiting for trains to pass. Any experiences in the place continued to grow, so did my ability to understand relationships between seemingly incongruent things. Things that seemed at odds at first, like clusters of children playing soccer beside a chicken processing plant, upside down church in front of an industrial warehouse, or a brightly coloured mosaic mural in the middle of a construction site, eventually comprised the fabric of my understanding of the complexities that make up this place. And as I continued to expand my explorations throughout Calgary, I was able to weave together my experiences of the place, until eventually they too fused together, like a tapestry depicting my own sense of place.

A Walk around Device to Root Out Evil

My feet are throbbing. I look down at my boots and curse that I have once again, chosen fashion over comfort, especially since I knew that I was going to spend the afternoon walking through the streets of Ramsay. I take a seat on the red concrete retaining wall that surrounds the perimeter of Dennis Oppenheim's sculpture, Device to Root Out Evil. After a few minutes, my silence is broken by a couple laughing and flirting as they stroll up to the sculpture. The young man asks if I could take a photo of them together with the church in the background. As I fumble to try to figure out the settings on his camera, they excitedly tell me that they just moved into the area and live just down the street. I listen to their chatter and crouch down as low as I can to frame the portrait. My knees touch the ground and sink in the wet earth as I try to compose the perfect image for them. I want to ask them what they think about the upside down church in the backyard and wonder what they will do with the photograph. I want to ask them if I can take a picture of them on my phone, as a souvenir of our meeting but think better of it. They look at each other and smile, then turn and smile at me. The shutter clicks and the moment passes. They leave and the silence returns.

My serendipitous encounter with the couple occurred on one of my initial exploratory walks to the upside down church. I was still trying to piece together how and why this valuable public artwork had ended up in a relatively nondescript industrial lot in East Calgary. The sculpture looked as though it had been plunked down on the site by pure happenstance and the reasons behind how and why it had been relocated to this particular site were still very much a mystery to me. Despite its enigmatic locale, it was evident that the sculpture had become a public marker and place of importance in the community. The artwork, by its mere presence,

transformed a seemingly unremarkable grassy knoll on the outskirts of an industrial complex into a place that people wanted to be. It had even become a place that people wanted to memorialize in a photograph.

Created in 1997 for the Venice Biennale, Oppenheim's *Device to Root Out Evil* depicts an inverted New-England style church balancing dramatically on its steeple. The piece stands approximately 22 feet high and is made of galvanized steel, anodized perforated aluminum, concrete, and red Venetian glass that is lit up at night. Oppenheim, a major internationally renowned figure in the field of conceptual art, is best known for his groundbreaking work in land art, video, sculpture and performance art in the 1960s and 1970s. In the mid-1980s, his work took a marked shift as he began to create work that transformed everyday objects into objects of curiosity. By the 1990s, he moved towards the creation of large-scale permanent pieces that fused architecture and sculpture. He is notorious for work that evokes a sense of tension and discomfort in viewers (The Art of Oppenheim, 1997) and his public sculptures have been described as both nervous and evasive (Denson, 2011). Teetering precariously on its spire, *Device to Root Out Evil* is emblematic of Oppenheim's prolific body of work. Through the simple gesture of turning a recognizable object upside down, Oppenheim hopes to radically alter people's interpretations of an object and by inverting the church, he literally and symbolically turns the foundations of Western society on its head (The Art of Oppenheim, 1997).

Vancouver Biennale is a not-for-profit organization that produces an annual temporary exhibitions of major artworks in public spaces around the city. Oppenheim's large sculpture was one of the twenty-four major pieces exhibited in the 2005-2007 Vancouver International Sculpture Biennale (Christie's Canada, 2007). In 2005, the Biennale had initiated a

10-year agreement with the Vancouver Parks Board that enabled them to temporarily place public art in various parks for predetermined time periods (Stalker, 2009). As part of this agreement, *Device to Root Out Evil* was scheduled to be displayed for eighteen months in Harbour Green waterfront park, located in the heart of downtown Vancouver's posh Coal Harbour. The sculpture was installed in a highly visible and stunning location in the park, surrounded by high-priced condominiums overlooking the Burrard Inlet and Stanley Park, once a place of spiritual importance for the Coast Salish First Nations People. In the late 1800s, a bustling lumber mill occupied present day Harbour Green Park, part of the logging trade that was instrumental in the industrialization of the West Coast's colonial period. Over the years, the industrial area was occupied by artists, writers and low-wage earners. My father often tells me stories of how he used to live in an old house on Pender Street that had been transformed into a hippy commune in the late 1960s. Today, all physical traces of those histories have vanished, replaced by manicured gardens, walking paths, trendy bistros and high-end condominiums that boast some of the most expensive real estate prices in North America.

In the middle of its tenure in Coal Harbour, *Device to Root Out Evil* was auctioned off by the Vancouver Biennale for \$300,000 to a boutique legal firm called the Benefic Group (Mickleburgh, 2008). The Christie's auction was part of a fundraising initiative hosted by the Vancouver Biennale to secure private sales of some of the favoured public artworks that come to the city through the Biennale. Vancouver, like most major cities in North America, prescribes to the Percent for Public Art policy and the Biennale's auctions provide private investors, corporations and developers with opportunities to invest in newly commissioned works of public art for their new developments. Investment in public art can often be a strategic

business investment and *Device to Root Out Evil*, which originally sold for \$300,000, has increased in value to approximately \$3 million since Oppenheim's recent passing. Beyond providing opportunities for financial investments, the Vancouver Biennale program also helps bestow public spaces around the city with world-class artworks in perpetuity. Works that were temporarily installed many years ago through the Biennale program can still be found on public and private lands scattered around the city.

Considering that the work was purchased by a local investor, many people assumed that the upside down church would stay in Coal Harbour or another Vancouver location indefinitely, but to many people's surprise, that was not its destiny. During its time in Coal Harbour, the Vancouver Parks Board fielded countless calls from concerned citizens that considered it to be blasphemous, and received complaints from nearby condo dwellers who protested that the work obstructed their views. Despite arguments made by some Vancouverites in support of the work, the public outcry and debate over the sculpture proved to be too much for the Parks Board, who ultimately decided to remove the work in April 2008 (Mickleburgh, 2008). *Device to Root Out Evil* was no stranger to controversy and had also been previously rejected by public art committees at both Stanford University, where Oppenheim received his MFA, and in New York City, Oppenheim's hometown, prior to its subsequent removal from Vancouver (Mickleburgh, 2008).

Unfortunately, Benefic could not secure another Vancouver venue for the sculpture and the fate of the work was left unknown until September 5, 2008, when a joint press release was issued by the Glenbow Museum and TORODE Group of Companies announcing the move of the notorious public artwork to Calgary. The relocation of the sculpture was made possible through a

strategic partnership between the Glenbow and TORODE, who negotiated a five-year plus renewal option with Benefic After being exhibited in Coal Harbour for two and half years, the mammoth six metre tall structure was unceremoniously disassembled and its elaborate shingles temporarily removed for a trip across the Rockies on flatbed trucks (Lederman, 2008). The press release proclaimed that the sculpture was destined to be erected in the Calgary neighbourhood of Ramsay, a community proudly referred to as a *f*, the creative soul of the city, a place where artists live, create and sell their work,, (Glenbow & TORODE, 2008)

What could be viewed as Vancouver, Stanford or New York's loss was publicly proclaimed to be a *f* big win,, (CBC, 2008) and *oap*, for Calgary (Tousley, 2008). The announcement of the controversial sculpture's relocation to Calgary was met with enormous local fanfare and over 500 Calgarians turned out to the launch to speak with museum educators about the work (Tousley, 2008). The announcement of the public artwork's move to Calgary unleashed a media frenzy that pitted Calgary against Vancouver (Cramp, 2008) and the Calgary media positioned the excitement surrounding the acquisition as a testament to the progressive energy and dynamism of the city. The developer who helped pen the deal, John Torode, suggested that unlike Vancouver *f* Calgarians not only can handle critical conversation and debate, but welcome it,, (Glenbow & TORODE, 2008) and the dialogue surrounding the work suggested that the public exhibition of such provocative artwork could potentially secure Calgary's spot on the international stage (Tousley, 2008) and elevate the city *f* to a sophisticated, progressive city with a world class cultural landscape,, (Glenbow & TORODE, 2008). When asked his thoughts on the sculpture's move, Oppenheim remarked that he was relieved that it had been saved from an unknown demise. While he admitted that the new

location was not as picturesque as Vancouver, he felt that Calgary had lots of energy and financial potential which, as he said, is sometimes all that art needs to succeed (Tan, 2008). Jeff Spalding, former president and CEO of the Glenbow and the individual responsible for negotiating the loan of the sculpture received praise from museum colleagues, dealers and artists from across Canada (Tusley, 2008) and triumphantly declared that he, *f*, couldn't have scripted this any better,, (Cramp, 2008).

Unlike some other major cities, like Vancouver and Toronto, the City of Calgary does not oblige private developers to incorporate public art into all new capital projects. While Calgary developers can apply to get some financial rewards for adding a public art component to their development, through programs like the Bonus Density Program, it is up to the developers' discretion. Torode personally believes that the relatively minor personal financial output it takes to commission public artworks pays major dividends by increasing the public profile and desirability of his projects. Upon returning from a trip to Barcelona, he was so inspired by the way that art and architecture blended with street life that he began to think about how the incorporation of visual arts could add social as well as economic benefits to his projects. He first capitalized on the potential value of integrating art into his development projects when he converted an outdated Best Western Hotel from a lackluster franchise to a flourishing boutique hotel, Hotel Arts.

To transform this shabby hotel into a more desirable destination, Torode enlisted the assistance of Calgary-based art specialists at Trépanier Baer and New Zones galleries to assist him in the selection and purchasing of \$200,000 worth of visual art for the hotel. While Torode sought help from the professionals, he chose not to organize a committee to choose his artwork. To him,

the selection of art is very personal and while other people, such as the employees working at the hotel, might have an opinion, he does not want to weigh in on the selection of the artworks. Torode also personally commissioned local artist, Jeff Boer, to create a public art piece for the outside of his hotel. The sculpture entitled Light, the Universe and Everything was created out of steel and multicoloured programmable LED lights and stands 18 feet tall. It was the first public artwork personally commissioned by a private developer in Victoria Park and continues to light up the area at night. According to Torode, the conversion of his hotel into a contemporary art-centric space worked like a charm, (personal communication, January 21, 2014) and sales in the hotel and restaurant increased almost immediately.

The success he experienced with Hotel Arts inspired Torode to commission and purchase more public artwork. In 2008 he purchased a 24 foot high steel sculpture, Calgary Root, created by internationally renowned artist, Steve Tobin, and installed it in front of his office building project, 8 WEST. He also held a \$1 million international invitational competition for a major public artwork to be situated outside of his Arriva condominium development. Renowned Canadian artist Micah Lexier was selected to create a piece entitled Half K. Although the commission was halted by investors prior to it being created, the artist's renderings of Half K were staggeringly ambitious and would have been a whimsical and iconic addition to the Victoria Park landscape. Between bringing in the Oppenheim piece to Calgary in 2008 and his other public art commissions around that time, Torode had begun to get a reputation for being a developer on a mission to transform and revitalize the neighbourhoods in East Calgary. He has often been referred to as being a visionary, an urban pioneer and even a real Alberta maverick (Markusoff, 2010). Unlike other developers, Torode was personally investing in public art and

while he did access the City of Calgary's Bonus Density Program, on occasions, he openly admitted that he had no intention of allowing the city or the public to be involved in his process. He is critical of the way that public art is handled in other cities and appreciates that Calgary does not force developers to work with a prescribed public art system that mandates how the selection, jury and competition processes are handled within the private domain

The location where the Oppenheim piece was moved was slated for a proposed \$1 billion Ramsay Exchange redevelopment project. Once known as Saddlevue Industrial Park, the new development promised to transform 21 acres of industrial lands in the heart of Ramsay into a thriving mixed used, pedestrian friendly community,, (Glenbow & TORODE, 2008) The large industrial zone lays claim to the historic Dominion Bridge steel foundry, an important industrial site that serviced the burgeoning oil, coal and agriculture industries from the 1920s through to the 1980s (Klaszus 2008) Today, many of the historical structures remain and some of the industrial building sites are occupied by tenants that could be considered of the creative class, such as design firms, artist studios, engineering outfits and fine art fabricators. A large section of the lot is utilized by the Calgary Stampede, who maintain the large industrial spaces and open lots for site storage of their equipment and supplies. Much of the area is closed off to the general public, surrounded by chain link fences and signs warning against access. The solitary retail space is located on the east side of the complex is Café Rosser, a specialty coffee chain owned by Torode's son. The coffee shop, the only publicly accessible space on the site, has become a hub of activity filled with local residents and employees from nearby businesses

The original conceptual plan for TORODE's Ramsay Exchange-mixed-use development project was consistent with the Ramsay ARP that regarded the complex as having historical significance, therefore its structure should be restored, rehabilitated and maintained. While some of the historical architectural character of the site, like the Dominion Bridge building, were mandated to be maintained and repurposed, other structures and derelict industrial areas were destined to be rezoned and replaced by high-rise condominiums, a boutique hotel, retail and commercial buildings and green spaces. The brownfield development plan aimed at celebrating the history of the area, suggesting that Ramsay Exchange would be a place where historical and contemporary meet; where ideas exchange and lifestyles fuse,, (New Urban Consulting, 2012). The ambitious mixed-use redevelopment proposal was intended to transform a derelict part of the city into a thriving, high-density community complete with sustainable features, like cycling and pedestrian paths, ethnic stores and green spaces (Klaszus, 2008). The development's original vision was to integrate public art, into the overall experience thus enhancing the pedestrian and visual landscape of the development with contemporary and iconic artworks (Torode, 2008).

Despite all of Torode's intentions for Ramsay Exchange, the Dominion Bridge development was shelved in 2009. His land use and rezoning applications for the project were stalled numerous times for a variety of reasons by the Planning Development & Assessment division, invariably delaying the project. The ambitious development had created some huge waves in the tight-knit community and many locals were worried about the massive scale of the construction footprint, increased congestion, noise, safety, and lack of plans to integrate affordable housing. In addition to the obstacles Torode experienced getting community

and City buyin, the economic conditions of the 2008 market crash had also impacted TORODE Group of Companies. In July 2009, Torode lost control of his Victoria Park Arriva multi-tower project and a downtown office tower which was also under construction, went into receivership. In August 2009, Torode sought court protection from personal bankruptcy after debts and personal loan guarantees totalling \$187 million had accrued (Markusoff, 2010). In 2010, New Urban Consulting Ltd., spearheaded by Torode's former business associate, Daniel Van Leeuwen, seized control of the Ramsay Exchange project in addition to numerous lots in Victoria Park. New Urban is currently finalizing their new development plans for the Ramsay property, which has recently been rebranded as Dominion Bridge in Ramsay, and are pending approvals for the Land Use Application for the City of Calgary (New Urban, 2014).

The five-year lease with Benefic eventually expired and New Urban decided against the renewal of the loan agreement of Oppenheim's piece to Root Out Evil. The piece was quietly removed from Ramsay one snowy Sunday morning in January 2014. Rumours and speculation quietly circulated and it seemed that no one, not even the new developers, seemed to know where the piece had mysteriously disappeared. Some people I spoke with speculated that it had been sent up North, others hinted that it was in storage and was waiting to be unveiled at another location somewhere in Calgary. A few other people thought it had been shipped to a private residence and others suggested that it had gone back to Vancouver. When I asked Benefic what the plans were for Oppenheim's piece, they said that they were still unsure, but reassured me that when it was relocated that there would be a news release and media coverage of the story. When it does reappear, I have no doubt that it will incite people to stop, think, debate, and

question its presence and, above all, construct opportunities for new experiences for people who encounter it.

I visited the site the day after the piece was removed. We were deep in the middle of winter and the air was frozen and still. I took a deep breath in. It was the kind of cold that hurt my lungs and felt claustrophobic, like someone was sitting on my chest. The yellow caution tape surrounding the exposed blackened earth, where the sculpture once stood, in stark contrast to the snow-covered ground. The electrical wires, once used to illuminate the structure, sprouted up from the dirt like roots of a tree just been pulled out of the soil. A few tools and metal shards were haphazardly strewn around. Red spray paint, which must have acted as directional indicators for the removal, was dramatically splattered around the frozen white snow. I could still see the footprints left by the disassemblers and tried carefully to trace their steps and follow their paths, re-enacting their motions and movements around the site.

As I walked around the empty site, I contemplated my presence in this place and how I had once travelled the same route as the sculpture from Vancouver to Ramsay looking for opportunities in Calgary. I wondered where I and the sculpture would end up next. I thought back to the First Nations people who once inhabited this land and weathered faces of the Dominion Bridge steelworkers that I had seen in archives. I remembered the conceptual drawings of the development plan for this area and tried to envision how it would look in the future and how the new architecture and occupants will shape the landscape. I imagined that it would soon be like Coal Harbour, filled with high-priced condos and cyclists passing through. I thought about impermanence and ephemerality and how even the most seemingly permanent and enduring things are, like us, only temporary and always changing.

A Walk through East Village

The sun is shining and a Chinook wind has rolled in and blanketed the city with a warm breeze. Many of my walks through this area in the past few months have been on chilling cold days so I am grateful that I can take some extra time to get oriented and survey the changes that have occurred since my last visit to the East Village. The Bow River is still frozen over in sections, but the landscaped pathway I am standing on, aptly named *RiverWalk*, is clear of snow and ice. A few cyclists hurry by and clusters of walkers slowly meander along the path. Over the past two years, I have been walking through the site regularly and witnessed substantial changes in both the physical and social landscapes of the area.

While the area around the public artworks and the East Village Sales and Experience Centre are relatively quiet this afternoon, construction is buzzing. Four huge cranes trace circular paths along the skyline and the air is filled with the sounds of large trucks backing up, foremen barking orders and the hammering of production. Renovations have commenced on the historic 1912 Simmons Mattress Building, which will soon be transformed into a boutique culinary hub offering local designer coffee and fresh baked goods. I think back to the first and only time that I had been inside the Simmons Building, about a year and a half ago for the Calgary Economic Development's inaugural Soul of the City speaker series on the value of placemaking. How fitting that the next time that I will have the opportunity to go inside it will be as a lively gastronomic hub for the neighbourhood.

East Village and the surrounding areas, like Fort Calgary and Inglewood, sit on the flood plain at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers and the East Village Redevelopment Plan notes that the area has experienced extreme flooding in the past (City of Calgary, 2005).

Although a dike was constructed in the 1950s to address the problem and the CMLC had taken precautions to raise the ground level of the East Village, the area was practically submerged underwater as the result of a severe city-wide flood in June 2013. I walked through the area on the heels of the flood. It was eerily quiet, almost post-apocalyptic, and the air smelled damp and rank. On one post-flood walk, a coyote ran in front of me. It was the middle of the day and I couldn't help but feel that nature was struggling to finally try to take the area back. The streets were relatively dry, but plenty of water had still filtered in from below the ground, filling the construction pits with thousands of gallons of water.

Despite setbacks from the flood, today I noticed that the reconstruction of the new pedestrian bridge that will link East Village to the soon-to-be-revitalized St. Patrick's Island is coming along well. Construction of the Embassy Bosa Evolution condominiums has also made considerable progress since the last time I was on site. Evolution and East Village's other condo developments are already being snapped up by local and foreign investors looking to capitalize on Calgary's booming economy. Real estate prices in the East Village start in the low \$300,000s but will go all the way up to \$46 million per unit (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). With the first tenants scheduled to move into the East Village in 2015, I can hardly imagine the unbelievable change and transformation that this area will experience over the next few years.

Since 2007, the CMLC has spent approximately \$180 million on infrastructure such as roads, underground utilities, sidewalks, public plazas, landscaping, and lighting features throughout East Village. One of ways that the CMLC is encouraging people to visit the active construction site is by investing in permanent and temporary public artworks in areas that the

infrastructure projects are complete. The 2005 Area Redevelopment Plan and the 2009 East Village Master Plan both position arts and culture at the heart of the East Village community. The East Village's temporary and permanent public artworks are situated near the Sales and Experience Centre, which offers potential investors a sneak peek into the future of the area and details on how to buy into the development. CEO of CMLC, Michael Brown suggests that public art will be critical to the area's success and will help to guarantee strong residential sales, by making it, the neighbourhood more inviting, more engaging and ultimately more liveable (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). Public art is being used as a strategy to activate placemaking, which the CMLC suggests, brings new energy to old neighbourhoods, creates credibility and confidence, and inspires communities to build, grow, and belong (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014).

I take a seat on one of the recently installed benches along Riverwalk, beside the storage shed and the two robo-bathrooms that are wrapped in temporary murals created by Light & Soul. A gentleman lays down in the sun on a bench beside me, possibly taking respite from a long night spent outside in the cold. He seems exhausted and his shvelled attire and sunken demeanour reveals a world that has not been kind to him. After a few minutes of rest, two police officers roll up on bicycles and shake him awake with bellowing voices. They address the man with an air of command and turn their back to me, standing authoritatively between me and the man as they call in a combination of numbers on their walkie-talkies. I feel a little irritated that I have not been implicated in this exchange since I had, in fact, been resting on the bench longer, but I suppose that my looks never seem to register as much of a threat to the police. I look up and notice, for the first time, a number of security cameras attached to one of the mural-covered

storage sheds. In this moment, I am reminded that while this area feels like a public space, it is most certainly carefully managed and privately controlled.

I decide to give them their space and get up from the bench and stroll towards Ron Moppett's permanent public artwork which is positioned behind the Sales and Experience Centre. Measuring 110 feet in length and 13 feet high, the enormous mosaic mural is the largest of its kind in the country. The piece, entitled *THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER*, is set along the west wall of the CMLC's newly constructed pedestrian walkway, Riverfront Lane. The piece consists of five of brightly coloured panels. With its bold graphics and abstracted imagery, the piece is emblematic of the well-established Canadian artist's style and provides a vivid burst of colour amidst a sea of grey concrete. The CMLC has carefully landscaped Riverfront Lane complete with lighting features, park benches and trees. I often see people resting on the benches facing inwards towards the brightly coloured wall, seemingly oblivious to the bursts of traffic, train and construction sounds that emanate from all around. With all the noise and dust from the construction, I am amazed at how often public artwork is used as a backdrop for public programs and special events, such as the CMLC's free summertime yoga classes.

I hug my back against the mosaic wall as a large construction truck ambles up Riverfront Lane towards Embassy Bosa's Evolution project. Up close, I can feel the individual shapes of the delicate cut glass, granite and marble that make up the façade, which comprised of 956,321 unique tiles (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). It took Moppett approximately one year to design, model and digitize *THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER* from his Calgary studio and an additional year for a team of artists at Franz Mayer of Munich to assemble it. He worked with the German studio which he regards to be the best in the world at

fabricating large scale architectural mosaic and their colour palette and tile selections unparalleled. Moppett spent few weeks in Munich working with the German artists selecting the tiles and overseeing the overall composition. Once the project was complete, it was disassembled into sections and shipped to Calgary where it was installed over a five week period by the German craftsmen. Unlike many artists who are typically awarded such large public art projects, Moppett does not generally take public art commissions. That said, he has a prolific studio practice and has with a wealth of experience exhibiting, as well as teaching and curating shows which undoubtedly helped him land the job. He admits that the public art process is daunting for many artists, who are unfamiliar with working with large budgets and tight timelines or in collaboration with construction managers, fabricators, landscape architects, committees and insurance brokers involved in bringing public art into the public sphere.

Figure 4: Ron Moppett's *THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER*.
Photos courtesy the author, 2014.

THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER is fairly abstract, but Moppett was cautious not to make it completely esoteric or inaccessible for the public. Amidst the nonfigurative shapes and

colours, the artist integrated representational images throughout. To date, the CMLC hasn't yet integrated any didactic information into the site, leaving much of the imagery open to interpretation. To understand the symbolism of the components as she intended, visitors to the site would have to draw from online resources or pick up a public art map from inside the Sales and Experience Centre. A few weeks prior to this visit, I had the opportunity to walk around the site with the artist. Together, we discussed the iconography of the piece and talked about how he drew on the local natural and social history to tell a visual story about the history of Calgary. We spoke about the creative fabrication and commissioning processes. Having moved to Calgary in 1957, he was very familiar with the East Village and remembered coming down to the area in his youth to visit some of the second-hand shops. He told me that back then, both the East Village and the city's skyline were very different and there were very few public art projects in the city to speak of.

Walking alongside the wall, I examined Moppett's piece closely. I remembered from our conversation that the most southern panel presents an abstract depiction of the area as it used to be with organic dark oily paints, teepees, mountains and glowing pink Chinook winds cascading over the prairie landscape. The next panel pays homage to William Reader, City of Calgary's first Park superintendent and visionary who famously planted palm trees in Central Memorial Park. The third panel depicts the immigration of European settlers and the agrarian lifestyle of the past. Moppett had told me that the image had come from a black and white swatch that he had found and from up close, I am surprised to encounter many small bursts of silver, red and blue that have been integrated into the monochromatic design. The fourth panel, which is meant to represent the passage of time, is unquestionably one of the more abstract panels and

reminiscent of Moppett's paintings and assemblages. The final panel includes a snowflake, which is intended to signify Calgary's long winters and importance of the 1988 Olympic Games to the growth and development of the city. According to Moppett, the diamond on the fifth panel denotes value and meant to reflect a positive vision of the future of the city.

Integrated into four out of the five panels are black and white images that illustrate bridge overpasses and abutments, street infrastructure, street poles and lighting features found in the constructed landscape of the immediate surroundings. These pieces were created from photographs that Moppett took of the site prior to the installation. The stark black and white images stand out against the rest of the brilliant abstract colours and shapes. They seem somewhat melancholy and devoid of life, yet they are undeniably my favorite part of the piece. They seem to ground the work in everyday life, while paying homage to the liminal non-places that dominate mundane urban settings like these. By integrating these photo-realistic images into the finished mural, I feel as though these panels tell the story of a space before it became a place. I feel like these panels capture a moment of time in the Elbow, a freeze frame of a space devoid of life, a place I have come to know well on my solitary walks around this area. One of the objectives of public art is to infuse a site with meaning and significance and by incorporating the images of the physical infrastructure into his design, Moppett is drawing attention to how the mundane and commonplace can be monumentalized and transformed into a place of meaning.

I stand back to take in the entire mural in its surroundings. The piece runs along the train line and is set along a retaining wall barrier that separates Riverfront Lane from the river. The line that cuts through the area. When trains pass, they seem to rise up along the top of the mural as it makes its way up the bridge overpass to cross the river. From this angle, I can also see The Bow

tower, Calgary's Drop Centre and Julian Opie's permanent public art piece, Promenade to the west. This isn't the first time that I have seen Moppet and Opie's work side-by-side in Calgary. I couldn't help but notice that the two artists also have small scale pieces on permanent display in the halls of the newly constructed Atlantic Avenue Art Block, just down the road in historic Inglewood. Built in 2012 by local art patrons, Jim and Susan Hill, the Atlantic building is one of the new high-end mixed commercial spaces in east Calgary. The building features a boutique grocery and retailers and the offices of trendy media and architecture firms, but the building was primarily built to house the Seer Foundation gallery, which is a massive, privately-funded non-commercial gallery.

Both the Moppet and the Opie pieces that are exhibited in the Atlantic Avenue Art Block are quite similar to the two permanent public artworks the artists were commissioned to create for the East Village through the CMLC's Art in the Public Realm Program. Both Promenade and THE SAME WAY BETTER/READER were installed in 2012 and were commissioned through a limited call for proposals managed by a 7-member advisory committee comprised of CMLC staff, the RiverWalk design team, City of Calgary Public Art Program officials and professional art consultants from Trepanier Baer Gallery, a Calgary-based commercial gallery.

The CMLC's advisory committee selected Promenade because they felt that the piece reinforced the identity of East Village, while being engaging, surprising and delightful (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014). Perched up on a grassy knoll beside the 5th Avenue overpass located on the west corner of East Village, Opie's Promenade acts as a gateway marker into the new development. Standing 24 feet high, the video tower is made up of four animated LED panels that depict twenty variations of people constantly encircling the tower.

at varying speeds and strides. The featureless cartoonlike figures are set against a glowing grey yellow background, making it highly visible from a distance and into the night. Promenade reminds me of Canadian artist Michael Snow's Walking Woman series and the piece serves as a prime example of the British Pop Art icon's style. His paintings, animations and sculptures often depict people walking against brightly coloured backgrounds.

I first encountered the piece while driving across the Avenue flyover out of downtown, which I suspect is how many Calgarians were first introduced to this piece. The overpass, with its four lanes of one-way traffic and lack of sidewalks, is anything but pedestrian-friendly and at first, I thought the piece was an ironic commentary on the prevailing car culture of Calgary. As I learned more about the East Village, I began to realize that the subject matter is intended to support the CMLC's ambition to encourage foot traffic and pedestrian activity in and around East Village and is an overt attempt to reverse the longstanding opinion that the east end of downtown is a dangerous place to be avoided. Since I began exploring the area on foot, I have found that as a single female, I have never really felt that comfortable walking around the area. Many of the areas are empty, devoid of people. However, the area where Promenade is situated has become a meeting place for large groups of men that drift to and from the neighbouring Drop-In Centre.

Figure 5: Julian Opie's Promenade.
Photo courtesy the author, 2013.

Today, as I survey the scene unfolding around Promenade from across the street, I feel like a tourist in my own town. I lean over the fence beside the LRT tracks to compose a photograph from across the track. Through my viewfinder, I lock eyes with a man conducting a transaction. Ashamed and embarrassed, I put down my camera and slip away. I think back to conversation that I had a few weeks earlier with one of the men responsible for the maintenance of Promenade. He told me about how whenever he is onsite changing the LED bulbs or conducting technical evaluations of the piece, people always ask him if the piece has surveillance cameras on it watching over them. The media sculpture, which acts as a place marker in a meeting place,

also makes many of the locals and users of the area extremely uneasy, I also feel uneasy about my position as an outsider, trying to document the piece and the activity below it.

I loop back around to the pathway towards sobo-bathrooms and storage shed to take a closer look at Light & Soul murals. The cops who I had seen questioning the man on the bench pass by me and I notice that the man has now moved. I spent quite a bit of time speaking about the police presence and the power dynamics within the different groups that visit the East Village with Daniel Kirk and Ivan Ostapenko, two of the three artists responsible for creating Field Manual: A compendium of local influence. They spent nine months working as artists-in-residence in the area and created a majority of their temporary public art project onsite, working primarily out of a now-demolished warehouse space loaned to them by the CMLC. During their time in East Village, the artists developed relationships with a variety of the area residents and witnessed a range of diverse community interactions and intercultural exchanges, similar to the one witnessed on the bench and during other visits to the site.

Figure 6: Light & Soul's Field Manual: A compendium of local influence.
Photos courtesy the author, 2014

Field Manual: A compendium of local influences comprised of numerous pieces along RiverWalk. It took the artists about a month to install the various components and they often worked late into the evening under the bridge abutments that hold up the busy overpasses in and out of downtown. They said that the pathways under the bridge almost functioned like a cultural intersection, a constant crisscrossing of people from diverse economic and societal backgrounds. They met everyone from leisure walkers, runners, cyclists and families that travel along RiverWalk to the residents, visitors and volunteers from the lively Calgary Drop-In and Rehab Centre (DI) across the street that convene along the way. The sequence of unlikely encounters and the bonds that the artists developed with residents during their residency was a complete surprise to the artists and greatly influenced the story and process of their work.

Completed in the summer of 2013, Field Manual: A compendium of local influences is one of the most recent additions to the East Village's curated public art collection. The CMLC commissioned three local emerging artists to create a temporary public artwork comprised of multiple mixed-media murals and sculptural pieces that are integrated onto existing infrastructure along a section of RiverWalk near the Sales and Experience Centre. The artists, Daniel Kirk, Ivan Ostapenko and Kai Cabunboettcher came together to answer an open request for proposals issued by the CMLC in 2012. The project budget was fixed at \$75,000, which is a relatively moderate budget for a public art commission, but since the three artists are all still early in their careers and do not have a considerable amount of experience managing public art projects of such a large scope and scale, they felt that their best chance of being awarded the competition was to pool their skills and experience and submit a proposal as a team. The group submitted their proposal under the incorporated umbrella group & Soul, a free-

flowing artist collective They were awarded the competition in August 2012 and the work was completed in July 2013.

Over the nine months that it took to create the project, the young artists were consistently reminded by the CMLC that their work along RiverWalk was not a permanent part of the landscape in the East Village, but was only temporary. Temporary public artworks in East Village are commissioned through of the CMLC's in the Public Realm program and are selected based on a adjudication process administered by CMLC's Arts Committee, which includes professionals working in Calgary's public and private arts and culture sector. From the CMLC's perspective, the benefits of commissioning rotating temporary public artworks include not only smaller budgets and shorter timelines for delivery, but also the ability to change the imagery in the space and promote new work through their marketing and communication initiatives. In general, commissioning bodies can take a few more curatorial risks with temporary pieces than with permanent artworks, so the work can tend to be more controversial, edgy or confrontational. The smaller budgets and lack of infrastructure development, also make competitions more accessible to local and emerging artists.

The CMLC understands the importance of positioning artists in the East Village can develop higher cultural capital which leads to economic benefits. From 2010 to 2012, the CMLC partnered with Calgary Arts Development Authority to adapt an old building, known as the Seafood Market, into 14 temporary artist studios and rehearsal spaces. Although the building has since been demolished and all of the artists have moved on, the Seafood Market was the CMLC's long-term plan to position arts and culture as an important element of the new East Village,, (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation, 2014).

Field Manual: A compendium of local influence replaced Derek Basant's piece on the River, which was installed for 24 months and represents the first in a series of rotating temporary public art works commissioned for East Village. To create this commission, Basant interviewed Calgarians asking them what the Bow River meant to them and then aimed at replicating a cross-section of experiences that his subjects had with the Bow River in his photographs (Calgary Municipal Land Corporation 2014). The result was the creation of a series of large scale, monochromatic and highly minimalist images depicting Calgians photographed from above floating in water. The piece ended up being somewhat controversial and proved to be unsettling for some viewers. Many people thought that the dislocated figures looked eerily dead and felt that the images played on fears that many people have of the Bow River as being a dangerous and ominous force.

Figure 7: Derek Basant's I am the River.
Photos courtesy the author, 2013.

Installed in the exact same locations as Basant's Field Manual: A compendium of local influence represents an obvious departure from the minimalist aesthetics of its predecessor.

The work is vibrantly coloured, visually complex and conceptually layered. It incorporates various media from digital images and graphic print to handpainted designs and free standing molded sculptures. The varying styles and treatments incorporated into the pieces are evidence of the different hands and minds that collaborated on the creation. Although strikingly different from I am River, Light & Soul's work is also intrinsically tied to local geography and although its visual layering and complexity might make it difficult to immediately read, the work's content also has subversive undertones. Its bright colours and intricate and densely packed detailing tell various stories about the East Village's past, present and future. Located near the place where Calgary's two rivers meet, the artists sought to represent how that place is not only one of a natural convergence, but also the rich social, cultural and economic collision over history.

While Kirk, Ostapenko and Cabunovic were all locally-based artists, they didn't have extensive experience in the East Village prior to the commencement of the project. They were well acquainted with the reputation that the area had as a derelict neighbourhood with crime and poverty, but it wasn't until they began working on location that they began to understand the power dynamics of the space both now and through its history. Attempting to tell a balanced story about the place, the artists spent a considerable amount of time researching the history of the area and looking at the various influences, forces, people and events that are shaping the landscape of present day East Village. They spoke with current residents in the neighbouring apartments, many of whom are seniors, and individuals who both had worked at the nearby Drop-in Centre. They also made connections to the East Village Community Association and conducted research at the Glenbow archives, Calgary Library and Fort Calgary.

It is no secret that historical documentation often has glaring omissions and can be selective about whose story it tells. Eager to learn about the land's indigenous history that they could not find in print, they turned to the Native Centre at the University of Calgary where they met with Casey Eaglespeaker, who shared with them oral accounts of the Blackfoot people who used the land where the two rivers converged as wintering ground for 10,000 to 15,000 years prior to colonization.

As I walked through the site with the artists, they told me about their collaborative creative process and the challenges that they were faced with creating such an ambitious public art project for a corporate client. Some of the most influential encounters occurred while they were painting and installing their work over a one-month period in the summer of 2013. During this time, people would stop and they would engage in conversations while walking by and through these conversations, they got to know some of the locals that frequent that area. The attempts to arrange formalized meetings with residents of the Calgary Drip Centre were vaguely successful and they felt that the stories from residents that were told in front of the staff in regards to the changes in the East Village were vastly different than the ones that emerged organically through their on-street encounters. They befriended a resident named Dushy who agreed to spend a morning with the artists walking around the East Village. He shared them with stories of his past experiences in the area and about his old community of friends who used to frequent the King Edward Hotel, the old blues hall which was torn down to make way for the new National Music Centre.

What emerged from their research and consultation with the community was a reframing of a rich, multilayered story depicting a place that weaves together the natural, social and economic

histories of East Calgary. The illustrated images depict cultural icons that would be easily recognizable to the everyday Calgarian, but intermingled amongst the bright celebratory images are stories of inequality, corruption, greed and displacement that are encapsulated in the site's past, present and future. The artists felt beholden to the people who lived in East Village and struggled to negotiate between stories that they wanted to tell the stories of the people and buildings that had been forgotten, erased and deemed invisible. and the story that the commissioning corporation expected to hear

As I circle back around the pathway to where I began my walk, I pass a group of dishevelled men clustered beneath the underpass. I wonder if any of their stories had been encapsulated along these walls and if so, how they will feel once their stories are all washed away. I think about where they will go once the area is redeveloped and how they will handle being further displaced when condo dwellers begin to move. I pass by a CMLC sign that reads "Hello, urban explorers..," It is an astute piece of marketing that overdraws on the history as the birthplace of Calgary. At the same time, I can't help but think about how the sign's message reinforces the frontier myth that poses potential real estate investors as intrepid pioneers staking their claim in the urban wilderness. It also makes me think about the history of the land that I am standing on and how these grounds once served as a seasonal gathering place for nomadic Blackfoot people until the pioneer, explorers and real estate speculators of the last century displaced them. I look over at the group of men gathered together near the underpass and think about how their lifestyles, movements and patterns will soon be disrupted. It seems as if history is in the process of repeating itself once again on the very same soil.

Figure 8: Hello Urban Explorers.
Photo courtesy the author, 2011

CHAPTER FIVE : CONCLUSION

Research Goals and Results

City planners and developers understand that the culture industry impacts economic growth and can help turn an ordinary city into a vibrant creative city. Arts are being used to manufacture distinction, brand spaces, promote tourism, market real estate and attract attention in competitive marketplaces. The incorporation of iconic public artworks and flagship architectural structures are proven to drive social and economic investment and facilitate placemaking. Calgary is growing at an unprecedented rate and, as such, investment in public art continues to rise and play an increasingly important role in the social, physical and economic transformation of the urban environment. Rapid development, urban densification and gentrification are creating new kinds of pressures for urban communities. As such, many developers are using placemaking and public art practices to mask the divisiveness that surrounds urban revitalization projects and improve public perception surrounding controversial real estate projects.

One of the goals of this research project was to explore how space is both physically and socially constructed through the use of public art and investigate how art is being used to brand urban development projects and frame public perception about a place. Public art projects, like those discussed in the previous chapter, actively introduce new narratives into communities and serve as an ideal base from which to explore how the arts are implicated in the gentrification process. In order to expose some of the hidden power dynamics that are at work in community undergoing transition, discussions around gentrification should extend beyond real estate to

include the economic, physical, social and cultural changes taking place within a locale. Both the TORODE and CMLC developments in East Calgary serve as prime examples of projects that are adopting and integrating public art into private developments prior to the commencement of construction. The two ambitious public art projects are set in communities currently undergoing gentrification and this research project reveals how public art practices are intrinsically linked to this dynamic and complex transition process. In both situations, public art was situated on development sites to stimulate interest in the project, attract visitors and promote the desirability of the future community to potential buyers.

While public art is being enthusiastically incorporated into cityscapes and new real estate projects around the world, Kwon (2002a) points out that much of the discourse surrounding public art celebrates artistic practices, yet neglects to address the politics that are connected to public art practices. Smith (1996) and Miles (1997) suggest that it is vital for researchers to continue to explore how the arts are being implicated in urban change and gentrification processes. Positioning public art at the heart of this research project enabled me to explore the social and economic realities facing an area of the city in the midst of urban change. While this research project concentrated on a localized anthropological study, my aim was to reflect upon broad-based issues that link artistic practices to the spatial politics connected to economic emplacement and displacement, craft production and consumption, and transformation that occurs as a result of urban development and revitalization projects.

Methodological Intent

Monuments, such as public art, can help construct public memory and determine what is remembered and how (Hubbard et al, 2008). Whether works of art are publicly-funded or privately-commissioned, the integration of public art into a landscape changes the way that people interact and experience a place. My search for a sense of place played an important role in my investigation and helped direct my methodological process. Considering that my study explores how space is socially and physically constructed through the introduction of public art, I explored the role that place plays in ethnography and incorporated ideas from the spatial turn into my in situ explorations. My research into public art was guided by the fact that images and material objects are experienced in multisensory environments. Employing a mixed methods ethnographic approach enabled me to consider how my personal sensory experiences of the terrain was linked to the contemporary landscape and history of area. It was also instrumental in helping me to interpret the different narratives that made up the place and weave together the stories that I collected to tell my version of the story of East Calgary.

Walking around the sites and attending to my senses afforded me the opportunity to reflect on how the natural terrain was connected to the cultural and social landscape. My ongoing travels through my field of study enabled me to reflect on how my experience of sounds, sights and smells of the sites shifted my understanding of the place and altered my relationship to the place over time. These sensory experiences became bound to ideas on gentrification, public art, the creative city and the history of the area. Over the course of my research and many site visits, I also became acutely aware of my connection to the gentrification process and began to question my role as a researcher. This realization made it imperative for me to include my personal

reflections and self-reflexive experiences of my own evolving relationship to place. My attempt to reconcile my uncomfortable position is reflected in many of the open-ended and unresolved questions that I raise in my three narratives

As a researcher, I became entangled in the production of the spaces I was studying and explored how my presence in the landscape deepened my connection to places that I was studying. As I moved through the spaces, they made way to places and I was able to point to relationships between seemingly dissimilar things. These experiences enabled me to reflect on my relationship to issues surrounding social and economic displacement and emplacement, cultural consumption and production patterns. It also helped me to reflect on ideas around impermanence and the inevitability of change which emerged as a prevailing theme in my three narratives. The result of moving across disciplines and using a mixed methods approach was that I was able to provide a rich portrait of the landscape of East Calgary at this particular juncture while connecting it to my personal journey to attempt to establish a sense of place

Moving Forward

In order to understand how public art contributes to the production of social spaces, it is essential to investigate the process of how those works can be installed and placed within a community in order to begin to understand the relationships and influences that led to the production of those spaces. This research project highlighted some of the consequences of privatized public art practices, such as the lack of public consultation, the privatized aestheticization of public spaces, and the move away from indigenous voices towards a ubiquitous creative vision

of a city. Similar to other creative cities around the world, Calgary is using public art by internationally recognized artists and flagship architecture to help the city reinvent itself based on the image that it wants to portray. While there are some iconic projects that are being publicly funded in Calgary, much of the prized internationally-renowned public art and architectural projects are the result of privatized investment. The long-term impacts of a shift towards privatization are only beginning to be understood and remain an important area of opportunity for further research.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEW S

John Torode

TORODE Group of Companies

Interview conducted on January 20, 2014

Erin Kergen

Calgary Municipal Land Corporation

Interview conducted on January 23, 2014

Jill Cross

Calgary Stampede Public Art Committee

Interview conducted on February 6, 2014

Stacey Dyck

City of Calgary Public Art Department

Interview conducted on February 6, 2014

Dawn Ford

City of Calgary Public Art Department

Interview conducted on February 25, 2014

Daniel J. Kirk and Ivan Osteppenko

Independent Emerging Visual Artists

Interviews conducted on February 7, 2014 and March 18, 2014

Ron Moppé

Independent Established Visual Artist

Interview conducted on February 28, 2014

APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPROVAL

This study involved human subjects, therefore ethics approval was required from the University of Calgary. The Conjoint Faculties Research Board at the University of Calgary deemed that the research to be in accordance with the university's Guidelines and the Tri-Council Policy Statement. Approval for this study was granted on October 24, 2013.